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The Prospect for Correction*

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THE invitation to me to discuss a subject as complex as the one assigned assumes that I not only have enough knowledge to appraise the present situation but also have a crystal ball. I must assure you that, even though I live with correction every day, my knowledge of it is incomplete, and I am relying on my three decades of experience with it to give me some clue as to what the future may hold for us in this field.

Since my experience has been almost entirely gained in California, I hope you will forgive me for the frequent references to the program in that state.

In spite of the progress we have made in the administration of crimi-

nal and juvenile justice, we cannot take too great pride in our results. Jails and prisons have been in existence far longer than probation or juvenile institutions; many of our forms of treatment, therefore, have been prison-oriented. We are spending far more money for jails and prisons than for juvenile correction facilities and institutions, and for probation and parole and prevention.

There was a time when the correction of adults was the entire responsibility of government, while the correction of children was largely the prerogative of the church and private agencies. In some places in the United States this is still true to a certain extent, but the trend is for the state to take more and more responsibility in the handling of the serious juvenile delinquent; in effect, the private agen-

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cies have been priced out of the market. The juvenile courts—with their detention facilities, probation services, and forestry camps—are bearing more and more of the brunt at the local level, while state departments and their institutions have been taking more and more of the load in recent years.

In retrospect, it appears to me that in America we have about as much delinquency and crime as we want. I do not mean that we want to have crime, but that only when the public is sufficiently aroused do we stamp out major crime problems. I scarcely need mention some of the glowing examples of this over the years.

On the other hand, we have only to recall the Volstead law to remember how we reacted to an unpopular statute.

I have reluctantly been forced to ask myself many times: Is crime and delinquency a manifestation of a free society? I do not pretend to know the answer.

On the positive side, however, I feel we are now making the most resolute effort in our history of correction. The indeterminate sentence in adult correction, antecedent by the development of disposition procedures in juvenile court, is making headway in many states. But probation is still actually in its infancy: though many parts of America have highly developed probation departments, more than half the counties still remain without adequate service.

The Youth Authority

During the thirties, the American Law Institute created model legislation known as the Youth Correction Authority Act. While the Act has really never been tried in its entirety, parts of the program have been in-

augurated in many states. In California the Youth Authority Act was developed in 1943, and in the following year a Department of Corrections and an Adult Authority were created on the same principles that were embodied in the Youth Correction Authority Act.

This reorganization, backed by wide public acclaim, enabled the Department of Corrections and the Department of the Youth Authority (two separate agencies) to embark upon a number of experimental programs, many of them still in the process of development.

Alongside these two agencies, three boards were created: the Adult Authority, the Board of Trustees of the Institution for Women, and the Youth Authority, the latter having responsibility for some of the functions of case acceptance, term-fixing, classification, and parole. These departments and boards are coordinated by a Board of Corrections.

Even with good organization and management, these programs did not revolutionize the correctional systems overnight. Many of the changes have taken years to accomplish, and we still have much to do.

Good standards have been most notably achieved in financing and building appropriate institutions and staffing them with the proper complement of trained people. The parole caseload was reduced to 55 from the previous figure of 175 to 200.

Many other states followed suit in a pattern of reorganization. Youth authorities or commissions were created in Minnesota, Massachusetts, Illinois, Delaware, and several other states, while consolidated departments of correction or welfare have been created in others. The Federal Youth Board was established in 1953.

Recently, the American Public Welfare Association recommended that welfare departments take over the total function of youth correctional agencies. While I have no objection to the welfare departments' entering the field of correction, and while I think they should in certain states, I would object strenuously to fixing a pattern of sameness where any department attempted to do the total job. We need a wide range of service.

There is no question, however, that each state needs a state agency responsible for juvenile and adult correctional work. This would include the functions of youth and adult correction, probation—whether it be standard setting or functional—and delinquency prevention services and subsidies for local correctional activities through matching funds for construction of juvenile halls and homes, as in Virginia and Florida, or through the construction of camps. In California, we pay half the cost of construction and operation of some thirty county-operated camps.

It might also be well for state welfare departments to consider trying to provide some casework services for those prisoners' children who are on the Aid to Needy Children or relief caseload; their number in California is more than 100,000. This might very well be our most important delinquency and crime preventive service.

During the last forty years we have witnessed many excitingly conceived but poorly managed innovations in juvenile and adult correction. For example, in the twenties and thirties we made great effort to develop diagnostic clinics and centers, only to find that after we had developed them and spent a lot of money on diagnosis, we had no facilities to carry out the treatments recommended.

Various forms of counseling and guidance, individual therapy and group therapy are now having their day. We have alternately been too tough or too soft. It is my fate to have been a boy at a time when children were responsible for their acts and to be a father when parents are to blame.

In juvenile courts the concept of *parens patriae* developed and is still in use in many states throughout the country. But we are concerned that the rights of children are not protected in some juvenile courts as they are in others.

The recent revision of the Standard Juvenile Court Act (sixth edition) by the National Probation and Parole Association and the U.S. Children's Bureau will encourage many of our states to take a new look at the juvenile court. This new concept will permit the juvenile court judge to stop being a social worker and go back to assuming his proper role as a judge. The proposal has received wide acclaim from legal philosophers, as well as from most of the juvenile court judges of America, but it can be put into practice only if the juvenile court is provided with the tools necessary to perform this function; i.e., diagnostic service, probation, treatment centers, etc.

We are frequently asked: When state correctional agencies are created, is there a tendency for them to take over?

The answer depends on your point of view. I do not advocate the state's taking over any function that can be performed by local government. I believe that "that government serves best that serves closest to the people." I can see the danger of transferring local responsibilities to a state agency that is not closely in touch with the

needs of the persons it may be required to serve. So, my answer to the question would be that (1) the state should provide institutions for correction, both juvenile and adult, with a treatment program and a parole program based on the best rehabilitative practices known; (2) the state should encourage greater activity in the field of probation and services to local courts, rather than directly assuming any of these functions at the state level. But the small state is undoubtedly an exception. Occasionally, where local programs are neglected, the state must take a hand.

However, certain activities should unqualifiedly be undertaken by the state. In California, Governor Brown has suggested a partnership program of crime and delinquency prevention with the cities and counties. In this instance, some statewide leadership was needed to counteract a growing narcotics problem, to encourage the police to take greater responsibility in the juvenile delinquency field, and to get the home, church, and school programs active in preventing crime and delinquency. This type of state leadership means supporting rather than taking over a better service at the community level, through co-ordinated and planned use of all facilities available.

New York and many of the other states are developing similar statewide prevention programs.

Research

Until recently, research was not used much in governmental planning. We have come to realize now that, in this age of highly developed technology, we must analyze our product or we cannot hope to compete or to do a better job.

Most business organizations spend at least 3 per cent of their gross income on research. In the last few years large sums of money have become available for research in the delinquency and correction field.

I had the privilege recently of joining with Richard A. McGee and others in the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, and we have under way, with funds from the Ford Foundation, an international study of crime and delinquency.

The "Operational Research" approach as an administrative tool for arriving at policy and procedural decisions has been developing rapidly. This approach is being increasingly used by government agencies interested in proceeding according to objective findings rather than "hunch," "intuition," or "experience" (which are, respectively, euphemisms for bias, ignorance, and obstinacy).

In California, we are seeking more effective ways of accomplishing our objectives through combining program development with research evaluation.

The development of a system of research evaluation contains two elements: first, a regular supply of administrative statistics; second, a program of continuing research that focuses on the development of new program knowledge through the testing of hypotheses concerning treatment and control of offenders.

An administrative statistical program means maintaining a complete records control on the status and disposition of each ward under our jurisdiction. The purpose of such a system is to provide summary statistical information concerning the characteristics, the movement, and the disposition of wards.

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It is not possible for a research division to undertake long-range research programs, focusing on the development of new knowledge, until provisions have been made for answering the short-range, direct questions.

Over the last several years we solved the problem of supplying administrative statistics and recently arrived at the point where we can concentrate on the second element—the development of new knowledge through the study of program.

Research is being undertaken in conjunction with the evaluation of the newly initiated psychiatric treatment program in three of our institutions.

Prediction studies of the parole performance of Youth Authority wards have already proved valuable in assessing the variation of violation rates between institutions and show promise of developing into effective screening devices to aid in making decisions regarding the proper kind and duration of institutional treatment for different kinds of wards.

Panel studies in which wards have been systematically interviewed over a period of time have yielded valuable insights into the impact of clinic and institutional programs on the ward.

The study of community factors related to the rate of commitment of Youth Authority wards has provided leads in understanding the variation between counties. Two controlled experiments, the parole research project and an institution research project, are under way and should yield results which will aid in improving the rehabilitative potential of our agency.

We believe it is important to expand our research effort in crucial areas. Even a modest breakthrough

may have a profound effect on patterns of institutionalization and on procedures for handling the juvenile offender problem in California for years to come.

If your agency wants to undertake a research program, my advice to you is to start with the data you have available. Try to train staff, either full- or part-time, so that they may gain the competence to lead and develop your research program.

However, if you do not have an open mind and do not want your pet theories knocked into a cocked hat, my advice to you is to leave research alone.

Psychiatric Treatment Program

Our aim in the California Youth Authority is to provide complete health services for wards living in our institutions. Included are all those functions having to do with total health—physical and mental examinations, individual health appraisal, health maintenance, medical and dental care, the correction of remediable physical defects, nursing care, nutrition, and participation in the medical aspects of the school program. Also included, and acquiring more and more importance, is our psychiatric treatment program. We have found that 17 per cent of the young people coming to our state institutions are in need of psychiatric treatment. With the establishment of our psychiatric treatment units we hope to help them become useful citizens.

Our policy calls for the development of a classical psychiatric treatment team in every institution. Each of these units consists of a full-time psychiatrist, a supervisor of treatment, a supervising social worker, seven social workers, and three clinical psy-

chologists—a total of thirteen for a complete unit.

The integration of the clinical and custodial functions in the Youth Authority has been surprisingly effective. Although it is too much to expect a total fusion, we have had a high degree of mutual cooperation and understanding.

Psychiatry—that branch of medicine which concerns itself in its broadest aspect with human behavior, "both normal and abnormal"—recognizes the continuous and significant impact of the environment. The ways in which the large reservoirs of accumulated psychiatric knowledge can and should be applied are manifold. Different settings call for different techniques and methods of application of psychiatric endeavor. One can hardly suppose, for instance, that the psychiatrist's therapeutic approach to antisocial behavior in a "delinquent" adolescent should be the same as his efforts to come to grips with the problems of a presenile dowager. His examination must consider the subject's age, sex, education, and general cultural level. He is becoming more and more ecologically minded.

The enormous responsibility of rehabilitating children and adolescents must encompass many factors: their custody, the demands of society for conformity, an analysis and evaluation of the families from which they originate, the attitudes and prejudices of their local counties and communities, and, above all else, the conviction that every person—child or adult, conformist or deviate—is entitled to individual appraisal and thoughtful consideration.

Our psychiatric treatment program does not need either exploitation or defense. The research on our first

year's effort indicates that we are achieving results with the treated approximately twice as good as those obtained in a control group. It is too early to call this a success, but it gives a clue to the possibilities inherent in this new service.

The next step in the psychiatric program is to develop intensive treatment programs in the community. Such has been the case recently where a close working relationship was developed between our Department of Corrections and Adult Authority with some Youth Authority cases in handling the narcotics problem. For those known to be addicted to heroin, medical testing centers were established where injections of nalline are given on a periodic basis. Where the individual shows positive, he is returned forthwith to a state institution and special psychiatric and other medical treatment is given him in preparation for his return to the community. When he is paroled he is placed with a specially trained officer with a case-load of not more than thirty.

Here again, it is too early to know the effect of this program, but already many excellent by-products are coming from it.

Summarizing this program, we must say we may have to take a page out of the book of American industry and spend money in order to make money. By that I mean we must provide the best treatment and care in order to keep the offender as a useful citizen in the community instead of a dependent prisoner in an institution.

On the Verge of a Breakthrough

It appears to me that we may be on the verge of a real breakthrough in our field. The experimentation with the prediction processes will

make it possible for parole boards and courts to predict with greater accuracy the cases that come before them.

We will learn a lot about treatment in the coming years that will make it possible to secure a better adjustment in a shorter period. This will permit us to spend money on staff and service instead of on stone and cement.

We will break down the artificial barriers and provide regional services such as detention homes, jails, and treatment institutions.

It is my hope that the Interstate Compact on Juveniles, now adopted by the legislatures of twenty-seven states, will be passed and in full operation in all states in the very near future. The Council of State Governments is giving excellent support to this program, and I believe we will have eleven more states in the compact next year.

We will learn more about "freedom with control"; we will validate the economy of lower probation and parole caseloads.

Using the gradually widening knowledge of psychology and psychiatry, we should continue to shorten the length of stay in institutions through the development of a program of rapid treatment.

We will divide our judicial structure into a children's court, a youth court, and an adult court.

Finally, we must develop prevention of delinquency and crime to a greater degree. We must discover

verbal as well as medical antibiotics in prevention and treatment.

The creation of citizen action groups like those organized by the National Probation and Parole Association in some states is another step in this direction.

In each state we have the kind of law-enforcement and correctional programs that the people want. For the most part, in the tragic matter of crime and delinquency, they have never really addressed themselves to the problem.

Unless we are willing to spend the time and money to develop, quickly, a new scientific technology for the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency, we must inevitably be pulled into the spiral of continued rising crime rates.

Recently, Senator John L. McClellan proposed that a permanent national crime commission be established. This might be a good way to handle national crime investigations provided it had the power to act.

It is high time that all of us dealing with crime and delinquency get our heads together under one tent. We continue to travel to the far corners of the United States to attend the various meetings of organizations dealing with this field, when actually we probably would do much better to join hands and form a strong national organization.

The National Institute on Crime and Delinquency should become the rallying point for that effort.

Correction at the Crossroads*

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THE control and treatment of criminal and delinquent behavior is a nation-wide, unbelievably complex problem. We have no reason to suppose it will become less complex in the next decade. Our methods, philosophy, and management are due for rapid, profound, and far-reaching changes. If the administrators of prisons, parole, probation, jails, and diagnostic clinics do not provide the leadership to determine the course of those changes, men who may well have far less insight into this vast social problem will take charge, by default.

Signs of the inevitability of change are all around us.

Never before in our time have the press and other media of communication displayed such widespread interest in correction. Questions are raised about the prison, capital punishment, parole, probation, court procedures, law enforcement, the local jail and workhouse. We are being asked whether our correctional system is really successful. And we cannot continue to respond indefinitely with vague generalizations.

We sense that great changes are on the horizon. We know full well that our present methods are not good enough; we acknowledge that we know much more than we are using; here and there, judges are examining

their sentencing concepts and procedures. Deep within correction itself we see the inevitability of early change. The United States has not one system of correction but more than fifty systems widely varying in philosophy, in methods, and in results. For every prisoner participating in professionally directed group psychotherapy, another prisoner elsewhere is being stripped and lashed. In one jurisdiction probationers are carefully supervised by well-trained and highly skilled probation officers; elsewhere probationers report at rare intervals to untrained and politically appointed officers nominally supervising hundreds of delinquents. We know that, despite some improvements, the more than 3,000 county jails throughout the land are, at best, temporary detention units and that many of them are breeding grounds for social and moral contamination. Looking closely at our prisons, we see only a few well-organized and well-equipped prison industries; more often what we see is a massive display of stultifying, degenerative idleness. Within the past month I saw, in one cell house in a large penitentiary, more than 800 men without a single bit of work to do—nothing but idleness, jail house chatter, guards patrolling the noisy, smoky catwalks along the cell fronts.

Decisive change in correction is inevitable. What can be done? What are the responsibilities we must accept?

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A Different World

First of all, we know that today's world is different from any we have previously known. It is dominated by a vast struggle between powerful forces confronting great social, moral, and economic questions. It is a world with constantly changing concepts, goals, and philosophies which will have fateful impact on our methods of handling offenders. Let's review briefly a few of the facts about this world of ours:

1. *The Surge of World Population.*—By 1830, after at least a million years, mankind reached a population of one billion. By 1930, after only another hundred years, the population doubled. The current estimate is that by 1970 three billion people will inhabit the earth; by 2000, the population of the world—which already seems to be crowded—will be seven billion. Problems of adjustment affecting correction will increase in geometric proportion.

2. *The Surge of Minority Peoples.*—Throughout the underprivileged areas of the world, new and independent nations of minority peoples are being formed. A surging toward equality in basic human rights, in food supplies, in medical care, is moving underprivileged and repressed people everywhere throughout the world. In this kind of world, in which the rights of minorities are becoming a critical moral issue, the effects of the correctional process upon those subjected to it will be examined more carefully with each passing year.

3. *Rapid Growth of Scientific Knowledge.*—Man's knowledge in the physical sciences is leaping forward with awesome speed. Satellites are photographing the planet's weather; other satellites soar past the moon.

Pharmaceutical advances are incredibly swift. The other day a young doctor told me he is glad he didn't have to practice medicine in the old days before the "wonder" drugs were available. We hear that scientific knowledge has doubled in the past twelve years. To put it another way: man has learned as much about his universe in the past twelve years as he learned in all the previous millenniums of his existence! Robert Oppenheimer said not long ago that the physics he learned in his university days is now obsolete!

In contrast, relatively little growth has occurred in the behavioral sciences. We continue to discuss and rather wistfully hope for the miraculous in the control of human behavior: *the capsule a day to keep delinquency away*. We look for the panacea that will produce social conformity and eliminate the heavy social and economic cost of crime and delinquency. This isn't new, of course. The whole story of American correction is, from one point of view, the search for a panacea. The Quakers of Pennsylvania thought they had found it when they invented the penitentiary—a place where men could become penitent. In the past hundred years we looked for the cure by way of religion, education, vocational training, psychiatry, social casework, clinical psychology, or group psychotherapy. Because it has insights into certain facets of human behavior, each of these disciplines has made its contribution and remains part of correction. But none has been, or can be, a panacea. The skilled correctional expert must use all of them creatively in balanced proportions to develop a system of control, discipline, and treatment of criminal and delinquent behavior.

In the light of our relative ineptitude in correction, the total world climate in which we live, and the resources and disciplines available to us, we must anticipate early and rapid development in correction. Where do we go from here? What do we do about it? How can we direct the change to prevent retrogression to a more retributive and punitive system and to create a vastly improved correctional system?

Correction in the United States is not doomed to continued and endless failure. The time is ripe and ready for phenomenal growth and change. Indeed, we are confronted by demands for growth and change. At no time in our history has it been more important that we proceed to direct and lead correction into this new era.

I submit that change and growth in correctional practices and philosophy during the next decade will take place mainly along five interrelated pathways and that we can accomplish the job through these five approaches:

1. Through the strengthening of career correctional personnel standards.
2. Through vastly improved practices in correctional management.
3. Through broad, probing, realistic research into all facets of correctional methods and results.
4. Through a gradual modification of concepts and methods of sentencing.
5. Through widespread improvements in communication with the public.

1. Correctional Personnel Standards

The administration of a correctional program can be no better than those who administer it. Austin MacCormick made the point most suc-

cessfully twenty-five years ago when he said that with the right personnel a good prison can be operated in an old red barn.

Because of lack of nationally accepted standards, it is possible for almost anyone to become the head of a correctional institution no matter how poor his education, experience, or understanding of institutions. A hospital must be administered by a skilled and trained hospital administrator; a school system must be administered by a qualified person trained in educational administration; the manager of a mental hospital must be qualified according to accepted standards. But no standards are recognized throughout the country for the administrator of a correctional institution.

The goal of such an institution is redirection of antisocial and unacceptable behavior to behavior which is constructive, social, and useful. This implies the use of many disciplines and professions which have proven insights into the complex problem of human behavior. Management of a correctional institution involves giving leadership and direction to those professions and to the persons concerned with operation of the correctional community. It requires a man who is experienced, skilled, and knowledgeable in the potentialities and limitations of many disciplines. He must understand the dynamics of human behavior. He must fuse professionals and nonprofessionals into a purposeful dedicated team. He must direct the program and his staff with the skill of a symphony conductor. He must have a working philosophy and a perspective which transcends the minutiae of day-to-day operations.

Agreed? Few would disagree. Our problem is not that we don't know

what we want in administrative standards but that we have not yet been able (except in relatively few instances) to get the kind of men we want. The standards have been formulated; what is missing is actual compliance with them nationally.

In the last fifteen years industry has learned, through research, a tremendous amount about executive performance and development. This new knowledge, along with increased understanding of organizations, how they work, and how groups operate within them, is being applied throughout industry and in many areas of government—but not noticeably in correction.

The success of correction in the next decade will depend on adherence to high standards for the selection, training, and development of correctional staffs.

2. Management Practices

The second pathway that correction must follow in the decade ahead is vastly improved management practice. For many years our prisons and correctional programs have operated in forbidding isolation. They have been surrounded by management walls as massive as the stone walls surrounding a prison. If an institution preserved an outward semblance of order and discipline, displayed reasonable tolerance for the paraphernalia of rehabilitation, and avoided publicity which might embarrass the governor, it was assumed that all was well.

What do we mean by management? Management is concerned with directing an organization toward the most efficient achievement of its goals. In industry I suppose we can say that this means production of the best pos-

sible product at the cheapest price to make the maximum profit. To a school system or a university, it means something different; to a church, it means still another thing. And to correction it means the most effective treatment, consistent with public security, to cure delinquency and criminality. By and large, we do a pretty effective job of keeping men in institutions. But it's quite a different story when we consider the curative aspect of correctional management.

More and more, the sound principles of management practiced in industry and explored and taught in universities throughout the country are being applied to government. And as government in the United States moves toward efficient methods of management, longer and harder looks will be taken at our correctional programs. We will be confronted by a whole series of questions. Why do our correctional institutions emphasize custody, farm operations, feeding services, stone and steel and security which are needed only for the very few, when in all common sense these are not the ends of correctional administration but only the means of maintaining a decent institutional community?

Domination of the correctional program by any one approach—whether it be security, or prison industries, or psychiatry, or vocational training—is poor management. The best management practice is one which integrates the total activities and services toward the goal of curing criminality.

I am convinced that during the next decade this concept of correctional management will develop rapidly and find widespread support throughout the country. It will be consistent with new concepts in government. It will

require great skill in correction and in government. I emphasize management in government because, with few exceptions, all correction in the United States is a part of government; parole, probation, and prisons do not operate as privately endowed institutions. The administrator must recognize this fact, must know government, how it works, and how to operate within the framework of government.

3. Research

A third inevitable pathway to the coming change in correction is broadly expanded research.

One characteristic of a profession is its willingness to criticize its assumptions and to evaluate the effectiveness of its practices. Research in correctional theory and practice has been one of the most neglected and underdeveloped areas in the whole field of criminology. Recently, however, the academic criminologist and the correctional practitioner have turned their attention to an examination of the hypotheses underlying correctional practices and the application of scientific methods to the evaluation of correctional programs. Although research in correction is still limited, the introduction of a research point of view toward correctional practice signifies the growing maturity of correctional work generally.

Research implies far more than the scientific search for bits of truth and new insights. It involves much more than an administrative tolerance for interesting studies by graduate students or other academicians in our correctional programs. It is an integral part of management, not the tolerated avocation of the correctional dilettante.

The administration of a correc-

tional program involves three steps: (1) the day-to-day operation of the program; (2) the continuous study and evaluation of results; and (3) the replanning and redevelopment of the program based on this continuous evaluation. This is the method by which growth and development must be achieved.

In this sense, then, research is the evaluation of results. It is much more than occasional studies. It is more than a benevolent attitude toward those who would objectively evaluate. Research is part and parcel of the management of a productive operation. It is the infusion of curiosity, the search for truth, the means to finding answers and in the final analysis, the key to the future.

If we really believe that man's knowledge of his own behavior is far too limited, that he knows far more about the universe than he does about himself, and that this discrepancy is a major challenge of our time, then we must encourage correction to begin an earnest search for the facts of human behavior. Productive research of this kind not only will help us deal more effectively with the great problem of criminality and delinquency, but will contribute to the total knowledge of human welfare in an increasingly complex world.

4. Sentencing Methods

A fourth pathway to the coming change in correction will be a reshaping of sentencing philosophy and procedures. Since ancient times men who violate the rules and laws of society have been punished. To this very day our system of criminal justice is dominated by the philosophy of punishment. It is true that our *methods* of punishment have

changed. Torture, exile, and death have been almost totally replaced by the deprivation of liberty for stipulated lengths of time—thirty days for persistent drunkenness, five or ten years for armed robbery, life for homicide, etc. Originally this time was always spent in confinement; now, some offenders are allowed to serve time under supervision in the community. But always *time*—and usually the length of time—is determined by the seriousness of the offense.

But as the purely punitive philosophy was partially modified by concepts of treatment and training, new attitudes and purposes emerged.

Whereas we once could live comfortably with the idea of making the punishment fit the crime, we now know that the cure of delinquency and criminality takes an unpredictable amount of time. The causes of unacceptable behavior are complex. The remedies—call them treatment or cure or what you will—are not subject as yet to any dependable predictions. Harassed by the riddles of human behavior and beset by the still vigorous school of thought holding that punishment is the best if not the only deterrent (and the longer the punishment the stronger the deterrent), we grope for workable methods of treatment. Meanwhile we continue to sentence offenders to blocks of time, with the hope that somehow what we are doing will not irreparably damage them or society!

Some years ago, judges began to doubt their ability to determine precisely the length of time a person should be deprived of his liberty, to foresee the cure of a human being's delinquency or criminality in terms of days, months, or even years.

And so NPPA, through its Advisory Council of Judges, has for several years given serious study to the complex problems of sentencing.

Two years ago, Congress authorized the creation of sentencing institutes of federal judges and other officials to study the problem in the federal courts, and it has enacted laws providing for much wider flexibility in sentencing in federal courts for youth offenders and, for those judges who wish to use it, a much broader base for sentencing adult offenders. These laws enable the United States Board of Parole to use broader bases in determining parole eligibility and, in some instances, the length of sentence.

Sentencing procedures are under study in a number of other quarters, including schools of law and the American Law Institute.

These are some of the signs of ferment in an ancient and delicate problem. No final conclusions have been reached. But as correction in the United States moves forward into this new decade, we can be assured that sentencing procedures will be more flexible and will recognize the indispensability of release based on improvement and growth of stability in the offender rather than on mere deprivation of liberty for predetermined blocks of time.

5. Communication with the Public

The final pathway to the coming change in correction will be improved communication with the public.

As mentioned above, correction, except for a few isolated exceptions, is a government monopoly; probation, parole, and correctional institutions are financed and managed as the responsibility of government. As such they are the responsibility of all the

people; therefore, the public must understand them—their strengths, their weaknesses, their problems, their failures. The public must know the facts and be given a much broader base from which to judge the correctional system for which it is paying and on which it relies for its domestic peace and security.

The public image of correction, created by newspapers, movies, TV, and the other mass media, is a far cry from the truth as we in the business know it. But there is a new responsiveness in the public about our work and its effectiveness which suggests that the traditional image is being questioned.

We who are in correctional work know, of course, that it is a fascinating business. But I am convinced that we do not sense keenly enough the average man's interest in what we are doing. He is curious about these people who make headlines one day and then disappear the next behind prison walls or into probation supervision. I am convinced, too, that as he learns the facts he will support improved practices.

Who has not experienced again and again this curiosity and deep interest among our fellow citizens wherever we travel? In social or business situations, strangers—once they learn we

are in this business—immediately begin asking numberless questions. It happens wherever two or more persons get together for conversation—at parties, on airplanes, in club cars, wherever we go. A delinquent, a criminal, a prison, a probation system—all are tremendously interesting to our fellows. And yet somehow the real story of correction rarely comes to full public attention. A prison riot or a heinous offense by a probationer or parolee attracts headlines. But the deep human values with which we live and work every day are rarely considered and seldom understood.

I believe that much of this is our fault and our responsibility. We have tended to be defensive and protective. We need to get going on a full-scale program of communication with the public to discuss our problems, our lack of knowledge, our need for research, our need for improved management, the indispensability of evaluating our work. The public is entitled to know how its correctional systems stack up and compare, just as it knows about its hospital and educational systems, facility by facility and state by state. Once the information is made available to the public, I am confident that action, including workable standards, will be forthcoming.

A Businessman's Interest in Correction*

JEWETT T. FLAGG

*Member, Board of Trustees, National Council on Crime and Delinquency;
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APOLL of businessmen across the country would likely show that one of their foremost concerns about government is its efficiency and cost. We have a tremendous financial stake in government, paying for a sizable portion of it from the profits of our businesses as well as from our personal incomes. Much of our energy goes toward developing the kind of government that permits and fosters a favorable climate for free enterprise and the conduct of business in our American way. We recognize the necessity for a wide variety of government services, but abhor oppressive taxation. We pay the cost of government willingly and in good faith, provided we feel the expenditure is justified and reasonable. We think we are entitled to know and understand why these costs are necessary. We often question the wisdom of governmental programs only because we lack the insight and knowledge to evaluate them properly.

The only hope for ultimate tax reduction is greater efficiency in government and increasingly good judgment in the use of tax revenues. Businessmen as a group are united in their devotion to these ends. A great deal of money is spent through state and national trade associations each year

for, among other purposes, maintaining vigilant observation of government operation. We are aggressive in our efforts to curtail excessive government expenditures and use every modern device to make our opinion known and felt in governmental circles.

Many areas of government are so technical and so multiphasic that we cannot completely understand them. The field of correction is one of them. Correction, like medicine, has many specializations. You, the professional, know them: probation, parole, institutions, and enforcement, to name only a few. And just consider the many different *types* of institutions. To our further confusion, these specializations are broken into juvenile and adult segments, each with its own particular philosophy. We are able to see in all of this a simple theory of government—the administration of justice. But here the simplicity ends.

Knowledge Precedes Support

Like the man in the street, we know of the victims of crime and delinquency. Frequently, *we* are the victims. We believe something should be done to help the offenders and protect the community, but we don't know just how it should be done. Time frequently limits our study of this problem to what we read in the newspapers and to what the other

* Presented at the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, Kansas City, Mo., May 3, 1960.

mass media impart to us. But where our knowledge leaves off, so does our interest. I believe this same phenomenon operates within the legislator, even though he may receive more detailed information than we do. Therefore, our degree of understanding is of ultimate importance, for it is at this point that we—both the businessman and the legislator—are asked to increase the cost of government and add to the tax bill by approving increased appropriations for correctional measures which those in the correction field consider important and warranting the added costs. The logical expectation is that we will frequently refuse to support or adopt the suggested measures. We may, in fact, aggressively oppose the plan, seeing in it only another sign of ever expanding government service—and more taxes.

Businessmen are approached frequently, usually through their trade associations, by political officeholders, lobbyists and others, each endeavoring to solicit support for his vested interest. Usually, these interests have some relationship to business, even if involving only general governmental economy and taxation.

These interests make a great effort to detail for us the pros and cons of the issues at stake. More often than not, they spend a good deal of money to prepare educational tools with which to instruct and enlighten us. Witness the efforts of a state school teachers' association to gain a potent trade association's support for increased teacher salaries. A highly professional and dynamic presentation is prepared to create the best chances for a positive reaction to the proposition. Or consider the efforts of a big

pipeline company to enlist public aid in preventing a tax increase on natural gas. In both cases, the "seller" or "promoter" sees that we don't have enough information to understand his position, so he attempts to give us that information. Such an effort involves the assumption that business can help further the cause, if businessmen are convinced that it is to their advantage, and so the proposition is presented in such a way as to put across to the businessman precisely this idea. Businessmen can tip the scales when properly indoctrinated; acceptance of this time-proven fact has substantially influenced legislative action in America.

Correction and the Taxpayer

We businessmen must constantly look for ways to decrease the cost of our product and we know that profits are frequently cut by factors seemingly remote from a particular concern. The tremendous financial toll taken by crime and delinquency entails a similar phenomenon. The national total of the amount of money lost in thefts and in the taxes spent on crime control astonishes us, but it is something we readily comprehend. On the other hand, the loss of wages of persons incarcerated, the money spent caring for their families, the cost of insurance and expensive protection systems place a hazier price tag on crime and delinquency, and we often do not grasp its full magnitude.

Through my association as a member of the Board of Trustees of NPPA, I have learned some interesting things about your work. I have become familiar with the structure of state correctional systems. I have found that inadequate parole pro-

grams cost not only money, but human lives. It have discovered that where effective probation systems are lacking, institutional caseloads pile up, but that the cost of probation for a man is about one-eighth of the cost of his institutional care. I have learned, too, that some correctional systems are operated on about the same outmoded performance level as Whitney's first cotton gin and so do not give the taxpayer the dollar value to which he is entitled. I have been told that there are two basic reasons for such conditions. First, correctional administrators are unable to sufficiently affect political opinion, at either the local or state level. Second, correctional sights are often not set high enough. These aspects of the correction problem have given me much food for thought.

In both local and state governments, services which involve the interest of organized groups are usually the best financed. Highway departments have better road commissions because lobbies of cement and asphalt manufacturers and contractors are behind them. Welfare departments benefit from large blocks of senior citizen voters. The growth of agriculture departments is stimulated by farm and grange lobbies. Higher education has alumni support. And so it goes. But how can correctional administrators and workers interpret their endeavors in such a way as to gather the support needed to compete with these stalwarts for tax dollars?

Certainly the alumni association cannot be counted on—but perhaps business can. I know it has been done in a few states, and I can see distinct possibilities for similar, more widespread programs.

A Logical Approach

At this hour in America, delinquency and crime are high on the list of fundamental domestic issues. National, state, and community consciousness of this subject is greater than ever before. Time is thus a favorable factor. In no other period in our history have the citizens—particularly businessmen—had a greater interest in government, an efficient and effective government. Again, time is a plus factor. Moreover, with our rapidly expanding population, we see clearly that the problem is becoming greater and more pressing. This too is a factor which can be used to raise the sights of laymen and professionals alike regarding correction and crime prevention standards. With these factors on our side, let us view the facts as elements in a logic problem:

1. Correctional services are the responsibility of government and, as such, are affected by political opinion.
2. Businessmen as a group have been highly successful in influencing political opinion about those issues which they consider germane to their special interests.
3. Therefore, if correction—as a profession and as a social-scientific discipline—"sold" itself to businessmen, the latter group *could* and *would* support and aid the correctional cause.

We see then that the problem is one of communication between American correction and American business. We might even call it a problem in salesmanship.

Marketing Effective Correction

Nowhere has selling been better developed and refined than in our own country. Both an art and a sci-

ence, it has reached proportions of achievement hitherto considered impossible. Throughout its progress, modern sales promotion has relied heavily on old, established axioms, one of the most important of which is "Know your product." This may sound trite to the lifelong salesman, but nothing can be so disastrous to a potential sale as a salesman's groping for an answer. Similarly if you were trying to convince me that my state legislature should increase its appropriation for adult probation, you should first show me what probation is and how it can help my state, and then prove the need for your augmented program. You should have at your fingertips every statistical and social fact on the subject and be prepared to discuss intelligently similar programs in other states. Of equal importance would be your ability to estimate accurately the future requirements of a program under a wide variety of conditions and to back up your theories. Anyone who has faced an inquisitive and capable budget officer will understand what I mean. An intelligent and tax-minded businessman will subject you to the same barrage of questions.

A second and equally important axiom cautions, "Know your client." I interpret this to mean that the "salesman" needs an awareness of the personality of the individual along with a knowledge of the history of his career. Generally, the businessman is best approached in a businesslike manner. Use business terms to show him he's in familiar territory. A group of Southern businessmen were trying to put through an expanded correctional program in their state. Their representative, a very effective salesman, began his persuasions by put-

ting this question to the legislature: "If you could invest a dollar today on which you were guaranteed a return of two dollars in three years, would you do it?" The salesman built his entire case around this image on the assumption that any sensible businessman would answer "yes." The legislators did.

A third axiom advises us to approach our businessmen prospects with the best and most effective interpretive tools available. In their highly competitive world, executives are accustomed to well-planned sales presentations. They are familiar with the latest and most effective sales promotion ideas and methods. It follows that they will respond best to sales efforts of equal maturity and skill. Study the techniques of insurance sales promotion. The insurance counselor's presentations are usually the ultimate in carefully prepared and documented sales material, and his material and methods should not be too different from what you might develop for use in interpreting correctional needs and requirements.

Another tried and tested sales axiom counsels that the client should always have a choice of alternatives. The insurance industry would "wither on the vine" if it didn't offer its prospective policy-holders a variety of possibilities from which to choose. So it is with the sales of other ideas, for we thus eliminate the "all white or all black" concept and admit the many variations of gray. Both legislators and businessmen will be much more likely to support correctional advances if they have more than one plan to consider. The fact that one may be better than the other should be made clear, but the alternatives should nonetheless remain.

Last among the primary axioms is that the salesman most likely to succeed is a person of humility, yet possessed of self-confidence. He knows his product and believes in it. He does not disdain the nonprofessional; he welcomes the opportunity to communicate his enthusiasm and knowledge to another in a modest, yet dynamic, manner. He sees that this relationship may bring to his profession the support necessary for it to do the kind of job it should do, can do, and wants to do. He strives for a partnership which, while not guaranteed to solve his problem, brings the solution nearer.

Our Human Resources

Thus far, my comments have dealt largely with a relationship which could be developed at the municipal or state level between the correctional profession and the business world. Let us examine a little more closely how such an alliance might work and what it could achieve.

For several years this country has been spending billions of dollars to communicate some of our knowledge and technical skill to less privileged nations of the world. Controversial as this program may be, there is no doubt that dissemination of knowledge tends to raise standards of accomplishment. The question is, however, how can this knowledge be used when there is no conscious desire for it? This is the *bête noire* of all educators and community developers.

Correctional work presents a parallel problem. I am told that there are as many varieties of correctional systems as there are states. This fact, in itself, is unimportant, for states have the right of self-determination regarding their methods of govern-

mental service. On the other hand, I have learned that the caliber of correctional services varies almost as much as the types of systems. Some services, then, must be vastly superior to others. This is an important point to emphasize, for business will regard the elimination of inefficiency and the installation of modern, tested social and administrative methods as a matter of urgent priority. In its own house, business is forced to stay abreast of scientific development. It appropriates huge sums of money for research. The stockholder—and even the tax collector—recognize these as valid and necessary expenditures. Units that fail to produce at a satisfactory level are corrected or eliminated; a competitive system makes this practice necessary for survival. Business expects government to function just as efficiently, and it would expect a professional, nonpolitical correctional system to put to use the most modern scientific knowledge in the field. These would be the terms of any partnership between business and correction. I think you will agree they are reasonable and realistic terms.

The correctional profession, then, like all others, must constantly raise its sights, and its administrators must be able to exert leadership toward higher standards of performance. If such leaders are indispensable in business, medicine, engineering, law, and the other professions, then so must they be for the field of correction. In these days of stress and strain, America needs more than ever all the resources at its command—and its most valuable resources are its people. We need our people, need them as children, as young people, and as adults. We cannot afford to waste a

one of them. Each in his own right is an invaluable asset; potentially, each is a contributor to that sum total which is America. If we are to maintain this great reservoir of human resources at peak productivity, we must nourish and cultivate it with care and attention. We must be profoundly concerned with its education, its economic well-being, its moral fibre, its physical and mental health. Each profession, in its own way, ministers to these demands throughout the fabric of society. Business plays an equally prominent part, in all its aspects, from employment capabilities to philanthropies.

We Americans consider ourselves the most socially conscious nation in the world. We are a compassionate people, sensitive, realistic, forgiving. These qualities should lead us to the highest social attainments. They should aid in decreasing the population of our hospitals and correctional institutions. They should drastically reduce infant mortality, devastating diseases, alcoholism, family disintegration, crime, and delinquency. In some, we are showing marked improvement and success. In medicine, both general and psychiatric, our successes are noteworthy. We release from hospitals in ninety days mental patients who a few short years ago would have been institutionalized for life. Our drugs cure diseases that were killers ten years ago. In these areas

we are saving lives and human resources.

But what about the field of correction? We are still sending thousands of young men to prison when they and their communities would be better off if we left them at home, under supervision of their courts. In one state we sentence a man to five years, while in another state we stipulate an eighteen-month term for exactly the same offense committed by the same kind of person. Men languish in institutions because, in spite of their eligibility, punitive parole authorities refuse to release them or because the parole staff is so inadequate or short-handed that the parole board is afraid to take the responsibility for the release of these prisoners. The majority of our counties maintain no special court services for children. Some communities that pride themselves on their public libraries and civic auditoriums confine children in jails.

The inquiring business mind is shocked that such conditions exist when the knowledge and understanding for improving them are at hand. We would like to help you in the correction field. Please show us what the problem is and give us insight enough to understand how it may best be solved. Then you correctional workers and we businessmen can walk together in confidence toward a better world for all who offend and who are offended against.

The Saginaw Project*

JOHN B. MARTIN

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Chairman, Michigan Crime and Delinquency Council, NCCD*

I AM not a correctional worker. But while I can't claim the same measure of technical knowledge as the professional correctional worker, I can claim the same measure of sincere concern about our mutual problems in correction.

I am a citizen and a taxpayer of the State of Michigan, which, in 1960, had a high average of 122 persons in state prisons for each 100,000 population. To maintain each one of these more than 9,800 prisoners, we are paying, to use a conservative estimate, at least \$1,200 per year. The import of this situation is more startling when I recall that scarcely more than a dozen years ago our legislature enacted what was known as the Michigan Model Corrections Law. As the late Fred Allen was fond of suggesting: "We have some answers here; now let's see what the questions are!"

The provisions of the law were progressive; the Department of Corrections was soundly organized and its program was based on an enlightened correctional philosophy. The men who administered the statutory provisions and the policy of the department were well informed and energetic.

But the public, which ordinarily tends to be apathetic in correctional matters, was inclined to feel that if a criminal was committed to prison

it could again sleep in peace and that since these criminals were receiving humane treatment, its sleep need not be disturbed by any thought that something more than funds might be required to deal adequately with an increasingly impossible assignment—the rehabilitation of the offender and his restoration in the free community as a responsible and productive fellow citizen. Even the massive facilities at Jackson Prison were being strained with an overwhelming number and variety of prisoners for whom differential treatment facilities were very limited. Our peaceful sleep, however, was not destined to remain long undisturbed. We were sleeping on dynamite.

It Took a Riot

In the spring of 1952, the tragic riot at Jackson Prison burst upon us. When it was finally settled, many of us in Michigan awoke to the fact that our apathy and our lack of informed and enlightened support had cost us, as citizens and taxpayers, damages at the prison of about 2½ million dollars.

It was then that our public officials and citizens alike showed their concern to insure that such a devastating explosion would not occur again. A number of investigating committees, concerned with providing such insurance, busied themselves with inquiries and recommendations. Almost with foreseeable consistency, these groups

* Presented at the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, Kansas City, Mo., May 2, 1960.

agreed that it was essential to depopulate Jackson Prison. (Incidentally, the prison is still full to overflowing.) Interest, determination, and support crystallized themselves into consideration by the legislature of a capital outlay for construction of 16½ million dollars and an operating budget for increased personnel of a quarter million dollars for the first year. Again it seemed that if the smaller budget proved too small, we needed a larger annual budget pie to slice up; few questions were loudly raised about whether we were slicing the pie correctly.

Almost buried in the rather comprehensive investigation, competently conducted by Austin MacCormick of the Osborne Association, was the recommendation that the National Probation and Parole Association "make a thorough study of probation services throughout Michigan to determine to what extent the use of probation could be safely increased, thus helping reduce prison population and salvaging a large number of offenders at a minimum cost to taxpayers." Our budget pie could be sliced to provide additional cells at the staggering cost of \$10,000 to \$15,000 each, requiring a continuing outlay for operating expenses. We might, on the other hand, consider slicing the pie in a somewhat different way to provide larger slices for probation and parole services at a cost of about \$250 a year for each supervised person.

I need hardly add that I have no question about the need for prisons. We have some persons who, in the light of our present knowledge, cannot be helped while they remain in free society. The courts should and do exercise their discretion to commit such persons to institutional care and treatment. To exercise this discretion

intelligently, however, the court must be informed through a comprehensive presentence investigation. Investigative skill of a high order is imperative, for the effectiveness of the prescription depends on the accuracy of the diagnosis. The court has a right, inherent in its judicial responsibility, to this satisfactory presentence investigation; consequently, we as citizens bear the responsibility to provide the means whereby such investigations can be prepared.

Let us consider, for a moment, how well we citizens were discharging our responsibility.

The recommendation of the Osborne Association, mentioned earlier, was implemented through the appointment of Judge Stephen J. Roth, of the Circuit Court in Genesee County, as chairman of the Michigan Adult Probation and Parole Committee. Judge Roth with his sponsoring committee arranged with the National Probation and Parole Association, a Michigan United Fund agency, to prepare a study of "Adult Probation and Parole in Michigan" under the direction of Hugh Reed (director of the Association's Midwestern office).

Two items from that study are pertinent:

1. During 1953, the last full year prior to the study, probation was granted to 50 per cent of the convicted offenders, while 32 per cent of them were committed to prison.

2. This may have been a blessing when we consider our second finding. In his letter of transmittal to the Corrections Commission, Judge Roth wrote:

The committee was appalled to learn of the gross understaffing of both probation and parole services as contrasted to

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the sane and sensible work loads carried by officers in the few states where these two treatment techniques are developed to the fullest. To expect a parole or probation officer to supervise 600 cases (as some now do) is preposterous, especially when one considers that criminal offenders in prison have one guard for every 20 to 80 inmates. The degree of understaffing in some counties is so high that probation supervision is nonexistent.

Such findings hardly indicate proper discharge of our responsibility as citizens to give the court the means of insuring justice within its sentencing discretion.

There is no question in my mind, nonetheless, that the responsible citizen is concerned and is willing to provide the wherewithal for essential public services—but he often finds himself alone and uninformed. His interest and potential contribution must be mobilized, must be informed, and must be channeled through responsible leadership. The opportunity for the expression of enlightened responsibility presented itself through the Citizen Action Program of the National Probation and Parole Association, following a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Michigan Council Formed

Our Michigan Crime and Delinquency Council was organized by NPPA late in 1955 and shortly thereafter Byron J. Nichols, Vice-President of Chrysler Motors, was elected to serve as chairman. Like the council membership in other states, we were all laymen, with no obligation to a state appointive authority and no vested interests in the state's correctional system. The councils are designed "to bring to the field of correctional practice an objectivity and vigor unhampered by selfish motives or the belief that 'certain things can't

be done.'" They work with judges, bar associations, correctional administrators, legislators and others, following a four-step procedure:

1. Examine and evaluate specific ways in which the state deals with the offender from first contact to disposition and treatment.
2. Recommend innovations and improvements, assigning each recommendation a priority according to its urgency.
3. Inform the public in every way it can so that deficiencies are considered openly, widely, and realistically.
4. Act to get public and private persons and groups to work for the recommended improvements.

The Michigan Council has pushed forward in adult probation and parole and child protective services. We have worked with the Department of Corrections to expand probation and parole staffs and to encourage the application of sound and tested techniques. The average probation caseload in Michigan today is 120 units; the average parole caseload is 100 units. This is progress from the date of the study quoted above. But we still have a long way to go. We have been greatly aided by the work of the Council's executive secretaries, first Boyd McDivitt and afterward Willis Thomas. I might say, parenthetically, that such a group cannot be effective in the larger states without a full-time executive secretary.

Project Organized

Early in 1956, the Council met to formulate a tentative program. After extensive discussion we decided that the best proof of the extent to which Michigan could benefit from more intensive probation techniques would be a demonstration project in which such techniques were used under con-

trolled conditions that could be the subject of sound research. The project itself was an act of faith in the possibility, through the better use of probation, of saving men, families, and money without endangering society.

With the whole-hearted cooperation of Ernest C. Brooks, Chairman of the Michigan Corrections Commission, of Gus Harrison, Director of the Department of Corrections, and of Fred C. Bates, Assistant Director in Charge of Probation, the project was born. The McGregor Fund of Detroit served as midwife in providing \$35,000 to finance the research to be conducted under the direction of the University of Michigan and to cover the salary of the project supervisor. The Saginaw County Board of Supervisors approved the project and more than doubled the county's probation appropriation, from \$6,400 to \$13,700, to insure adequate secretarial services and needed equipment and supplies; it agreed further to provide more office space to house the larger staff. The two Saginaw County Circuit Court judges, Eugene Snow Huff and James E. O'Neill, enthusiastically endorsed the project, and other county officials assured us of their full support and cooperation. Boyd McDivitt was most active in selling the idea of this demonstration and getting it in motion.

Specifically, it was proposed that the Demonstration Project would show "through actual practice in one circuit court in Michigan that if a probation department is staffed with trained personnel in sufficient numbers, with manageable caseloads, working under competent supervision, (1) probation can be used in 70 to 75 per cent of the circuit court convictions, and the success ratio will be at least as good as the previous

experience in this court; (2) this will be accomplished at no greater risk to the community; (3) a significant saving in public funds will accrue; (4) if the results of this project were applied statewide, the state could be saving millions of dollars in construction and maintenance costs for its penal institutions."

Both the Council and the Department of Corrections intended that this project would focus attention on high standards and the benefits of competent service. Manageable caseloads were limited to a maximum of fifty work units per month per officer, each supervision case being one unit and each presentence investigation five units. The Department of Corrections planned to increase the number of officers and to maintain a staff at the level required to insure this caseload standard. Officers added following the inauguration of the project would be required to have completed graduate training in social work in an accredited university. Furthermore, we planned that a qualified supervisor would devote full time to staff training and direction of casework services to probationers to promote uniformity of practice and an increased level of professional competence. Such a supervisor was employed in the person of Paul Kalin, who has served in this capacity for the duration of the project. His background included an M.A. in social work from Loyola University and extensive experience as assistant superintendent of the Illinois Boys Training School.

The Setting

Let us look for a moment at the setting in which this project was to operate:

Saginaw County is located in the eastern part of Michigan; according

to the 1950 census, it has a population of about 154,000, with approximately 93,000 living in the city of Saginaw itself. It was an ideal choice according to the criteria we set up, because of its urban-rural characteristics, its employment opportunities, its social agency structure, and the attitudes of the court, the Board of Supervisors, and others toward probation and the project's purposes, and particularly toward the court's workload in terms of the staff which would be required. We planned to have a staff of six or seven officers and one supervisor for them. Furthermore, since 1937, Saginaw County had had a qualified state probation officer, Hiram A. Nicholson, now District Supervisor of Probation. Through his tireless efforts of interpretation of the principles and philosophy of probation within the community over many years, we were assured acceptance and cooperation.

Before the project the Saginaw Bureau of Probation was staffed with three officers, qualified civil-service employees with experience ranging from about two to eight years. They supervised a caseload of approximately 200 probationers. During the three years prior to the project, they had completed almost 500 presentence investigations in felony convictions. The work unit load averaged, therefore, about 90 points per officer.

Excluding from our consideration fifteen cases which by statute precluded the discretionary granting of probation and in which a prison sentence was mandatory, we found that the Circuit Court had disposed of 483 convicted felons. Probation had been granted to 61 per cent of this number; 34 per cent had been given prison terms; the remaining 5 per cent had received other dispositions (consisting mainly of fines and county

jail sentences). You will note that probation had been granted in 11 per cent more of the cases than the overall state average of 50 per cent mentioned earlier.

During this same three-year period prior to the project, between July 1, 1954 and June 30, 1957, a total of 172 persons had been discharged from probation by the court. Of this number, 32 per cent were committed for violation of probation (28.5 per cent to prison and 3.5 per cent to the county jail); 57 per cent had been discharged with improvement or had died.

This, then, was essentially the situation at the time the project was established to determine whether the objectives could be attained.

The terminal date of the project is June 30, 1960. The schedule calls for the research staff, which has been collecting and tabulating project material, to have a preliminary draft of its findings shortly after July 1. Although the objective study of the research staff is not yet available, you might be interested in some tentative personal impressions which I am certain will be sustained in the final reports. But let me first make one or two generalizations, resulting from my experience with the project, as to purposes and pitfalls.

Somebody once wrote that justice provides the measures required to punish a wrongdoer, but that to punish a wrongdoer and not restore him is "the greatest of all offenses." The Michigan statutes dealing with probation are therapeutic, not punitive, in their intent. On the broad purpose of probation, the Michigan Supreme Court said that "The Michigan act in its terms is similar to the Federal probation act" (*People v. Marks*, 340 Michigan Reports 495).

The Court then quotes Chief Justice Hughes from his opinion in *Burns v. United States* to clarify this purpose:

It [the Federal Probation Act] was designed to provide a period of grace in order to aid the rehabilitation of a penitent offender; to take advantage of an opportunity for reformation which actual service of the suspended sentence might make less probable.... To accomplish the purpose of the statute, an exceptional degree of flexibility in administration is essential. It is necessary to individualize each case, to give that careful, humane and comprehensive consideration to the particular situation of each offender which would be possible only in the exercise of a broad discretion. (287 United States 216)

Individual treatment of each case is the heart of the probation process; flexibility of administration is an all-important emphasis.

But individualized treatment is not easy to give. A common danger facing most of us is our desire to achieve success in all our undertakings. It seems to me as a layman that when the probation staff is unreasonably over-worked, those offenders who present the most serious problems become prospects automatically for institutional care. Unless the officer has the opportunity to use his treatment skills effectively toward the rehabilitation of the offender, he may not want to "gambol" on a possible loser. And it is usually much easier to learn of the failures and problems than of the strengths and potential of the offender. The officer must have enough time to make the presentence investigation so that he can exercise his best judgment in formulating a suitable recommendation and treatment plan. Sufficient time for supervision of the probationer must be allowed to make it possible to work out fully the plan of treatment in fact. It may be the

offender with the most serious and involved problems who can benefit more from individualized treatment under probation than from incarceration in an already overcrowded prison.

Some Results

Earlier I cited some figures on the court's disposition of cases and the discharges during the three years immediately prior to the project. You will be interested in some comparative figures for the period of approximately thirty-three months during which the project has been in operation. I realize, of course, these are impressions which require the refined judgment of research study, but they do indicate some very apparent trends. I need hardly say that statistical analyses cannot possibly reveal the full truth or worth of your efforts, but legislatures are interested in knowing what are the advantages—in the saving of either money or lives—in any proposed change of an established pattern of action.

Between July 1, 1957 (the inception of the project) and April 1, 1960, the Circuit Court in Saginaw disposed of 403 convicted felons. Of that number 68 per cent were granted probation, an increase of about 7 per cent over the three prior years in Saginaw County and nearly 18 per cent over the state average. About 17 per cent were committed to prison, half the number for the previous three years. The remaining 15 per cent were granted other dispositions, an increase of 10 per cent, and again consisting mainly of fines or county jail time. (Thus far, only one or two of this number of "other" dispositions have been involved in further difficulty.)

Such findings are beyond doubt a tribute to the progressive and enlightened thinking of the Saginaw County

Circuit Court judges, all of whom have enthusiastically supported the efforts of the project staff, or, I should rather say, have demanded, as they are responsible to do, the finest quality that public service requires. The achievements of the project are in the last analysis theirs, and it seems to me that until all judges insist on having competent and adequate probation services, our progress will be limited. They, and the probation staff, work with conviction of a principle set forth by the Michigan Supreme Court in a recent criminal case:

We reject, instanter, any thought that the defendant, because a convicted criminal, stands before us with any degree of vulnerability, that he is shorn of any of his constitutional rights. These guarantees, in truth, meet their real challenge when sought to be employed by the wicked. The upright and the righteous need them not. We have, indeed, construed the probation statute with a liberality consonant with its humane objectives. (*People v. Becker*, 349 Michigan Reports 476)

Obviously it will require more time to determine whether the improvements made by the Saginaw probationers are lasting or not. While almost three years or more have elapsed to determine recidivism among those who were discharged in the three-year period prior to the project—and there are relatively few—we have had less than three years on which to base a similar judgment regarding those who were discharged by the court during the term of the project. But the figures I give you with these limitations indicate trends and a reasonable conclusion as to whether this increased use of probation results in greater danger to the community.

During the 33-month period of the project's operation, until April 1,

1960, the court discharged from probation 349 persons. Of this number, 17 per cent were committed for violation of probation. This represents a reduction in commitments for violation of probation of 47 per cent compared with the three prior years. While 10 per cent were discharged without improvement (or had died), 73 per cent were discharged with improvement, an increase of 16 per cent.

I realize that value judgments must be made in determining the type of discharge to be granted by the court; this will be considered by the University of Michigan research staff. I am satisfied, however, that probation in Saginaw County has been used much more extensively with no greater risk to the safety of that community.

Specific Implications

What does all this mean? Its inferences for your work I will leave for you to draw. Its implications for my own state are suggested in a few highlights from a study on "Costs of Michigan's Corrections Program—A Review of Trends," which our Michigan Council prepared for our information about eighteen months ago. We learned through that report, prepared by the staff of the National Probation and Parole Association, that:

The size and cost of Michigan's crime problem is increasing. This increase is due, in part, to an increase in the general population of the state. By 1970, if present trends hold, and if the overall correctional program continues on its present course, the following situation can be expected to develop:

1. Population in correctional institutions will increase by nearly 3,000.
2. Over 3,000 more people will be on probation for felony offenses.
3. Some 1,200 more people will be under parole supervision.

4. Operation costs, exclusive of any new construction, will increase by some \$4,500,000 a year—an item for legislative appropriation.

5. Capital outlay, just to provide additional space, will run about \$15,000 for each cell, or a total of approximately \$40,000,000. This means an annual expenditure of \$4,000,000 spread over a ten-year period.

6. Another \$4,000,000 a year more than is now being spent will come out of tax funds to finance welfare assistance grants to families of inmates. Actual figures are not available, but the best and most conservative estimate is that \$1,500 a year per institution inmate has to be allowed for welfare expenditures and losses in tax revenue due to the unemployed status of the institution inmate.

It was also found that these increases in expenditure do not necessarily have to occur. Chief among the recommendations to be taken in an action program, which included a review of the Penal Code and improvement in the treatment programs within the institution and in parole services, was one urging the state to provide "a greatly increased and improved probation system to screen out and treat more law violators at the community level, sending only those to prison who represent a risk to the community."

Millions of dollars annually can unquestionably be saved by such a program, and this takes no account of the tremendous savings in human lives and families.

I believe, on the basis of our experience in Saginaw and the results of the just quoted study on cost of our correctional program, that statewide application of intensive probation and parole procedures similar to those used in Saginaw would result

in stabilizing our prison population and would effect savings to the taxpayer of \$8,000,000 to \$9,000,000 annually. This takes into account savings from decreased capital outlay as well as from decreased expenditures for families deprived of their principal breadwinner. It would involve substantial additions to both probation and parole staffs, but these would be more than offset by the decreased cost of new prison construction.

I am convinced that this course is the only really effective answer to the rising rate of crime. Unless we are willing to apply the techniques which we know will work well in the handling of those who violate the law, we must resign ourselves to more crime, to the need for more costly prisons which will be filled to overflowing with repeaters. We have the best possible solution at hand if we will only use it.

At the time of the Ford Foundation's new grant for the extension of the Citizen Action Program, Milton Rector, Director of the National Probation and Parole Association, said: "The problem is not only the lack of knowledge but the inability or failure to apply the knowledge we now have in coping with delinquency. An informed and independent citizenry can often bring about the bold and imaginative action which the magnitude of the problem demands and which government officials alone cannot achieve."

In the Saginaw Project, the Michigan Council on Crime and Delinquency, in cooperation with the Michigan Department of Corrections, has, I believe, brought about the "bold and imaginative action which the magnitude of the problem demands."

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The Sociocultural Context of Delinquency*

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MUCH of what has been written about juvenile delinquency is disappointing to social scientists and practitioners alike. This paper is concerned with some of the reasons for the failure of social scientists, particularly sociologists, in this regard, and with a few of the latter's contributions which may provide a sound basis for further research, theory, and action. I shall focus on an examination of the sociocultural context of delinquency, pausing only briefly to consider implications for delinquency-control which such an examination may suggest. We know but little of control, and any inferences I might draw from the material here discussed could be regarded only as guesses, "educated" by research and study and by exposure to a number of delinquency-control programs like the Chicago Area Project and "detached worker" programs such as the one with which I am now working in the Youth Studies Program of the University of Chicago.

"Facts Our Theories Must Fit"

Ironically, the failure of the social scientific effort to understand delinquent behavior is in part a direct result of one of the earliest and most

important contributions of social science. I refer to the finding, now so taken for granted that its reporting belabors the obvious, that *many factors* are associated in the causation of juvenile delinquency and that, therefore, no single factor can explain it. When this insight was first reported, single-factor delinquency theories were the rule rather than the exception, but after this discovery, researchers turned their attention to ferreting out and elaborating the multitude of factors in the backgrounds of delinquents—the home, religion, economic situation, education, exposure to sins of the mass media, etc. From these studies we have gained a vast array of "facts our theories must fit," as Cohen has put it (6), as well as much information about the social distribution of delinquent behavior, the situations in which children learn to be delinquent, and to some extent the motives and attitudes of children who run afoul of the law. We must learn still more about these matters, and in our theoretical and empirical efforts to do so it is my suggestion that we recognize two basic points concerning delinquent behavior and focus on the elaboration of two theoretical traditions which have developed in the sociological study of delinquent behavior:

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Two Facts about Delinquency

The first point we must consider is that *delinquent behavior is not an attribute*—i.e., something which one either is or is not, such as male or female, or something which one has or has not, such as measles or mumps (20, 21, 22, 30, 31). This is an obvious, but often ignored, fact. With only one exception, it invalidates all statements suggesting that "delinquents are like this, while nondelinquents are like that." The single exception is this: If one defines delinquent behavior as behavior violating legal statutes, it can be said that delinquents are children who have violated these statutes whereas nondelinquents are children who have not. But such a statement becomes meaningless because, in view of the catch-all character of most of the statutes, there are virtually no nondelinquents.¹

Thus, delinquent behavior is a "more or less" thing. By and large, persons are not either delinquent or nondelinquent; they are more or less delinquent, and in a variety of ways, and this is my second point: *for most etiological and control purposes, we must view delinquent behavior as multidimensional*. Delinquency involvement is a matter of participation in activities and patterns of activities which are etiologically *distinct* and which, therefore, require *different*

¹ For the purposes of this paper, when we speak of delinquency, we refer to behavior of *children*, not to the behavior of police, judges, or probation and parole officers acting in ways to define *segments* of the delinquent population. Hence, our attention will be directed toward variation in the behavior of children rather than to whether or not they have been arrested, adjudged, or confined, for these facts do not define delinquent behavior *per se*.

control techniques.² That is, patterns of delinquency which have different *etiologies* are likely to require different *strategies of control*. Conversely, any pattern of delinquency is likely to be so complex as to make appropriate, indeed to require, different strategies for its effective control. Recent developments suggest that we are getting back to the task of further developing and exploiting the implications of this point in both theory and empirical research (4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 23, 29). I refer primarily to attempts to better describe and account for the social distribution and the development of various delinquency patterns and the coupling of these sociological concerns with the more psychological concern of personality study.

In Chicago, two such projects are underway. At the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research a psychiatrist, a sociologist, and a "detached worker" from the Institute have collaborated on a very careful analysis of the history of a street corner group in a moderately high delinquency area, and of the detached worker's efforts to intervene in the life of the group (1, 14). His efforts were highly successful in keeping the boys in school and in preventing serious delinquent behavior and consequent involvement with police, courts, and correctional institutions.

² The reality of this point has been amply documented by the histories of delinquent and criminal careers traced by Shaw and McKay and their collaborators (24, 25, 26, 27, 28), by Sutherland (32), and on a larger investigative scale by Hewitt and Jenkins (11) and Reiss (23). The point has long been recognized by clinically oriented psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers, but it has never been satisfactorily documented in the body of behavioral science knowledge.

A second program—the one with which I am currently associated at the University of Chicago (29)—involves close collaboration with the Program for Detached Workers of the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago. The YMCA program allocates detached workers in conformity with the requirements of our research design. Data collection is made possible by seven⁸ workers' entrée into the street corner groups. This combined action-research program is based upon recent theoretical writings of sociologists and anthropologists (4, 6, 8, 19), and includes plans for extensive personality assessment under the direction of Desmond Cartwright (2, 3). Because these sociological theories are the culmination of the sociological perspective under discussion here, I shall outline their main elements.

Subcultures

In recent years, perhaps the most significant sociological contribution to understanding delinquent behavior is found in Albert Cohen's *Delinquent Boys* and in the ferment which has followed publication of that volume (6, 13, 33, 35). Writing in the rich tradition of Sutherland (32), Shaw and McKay (24, 25, 26, 27, 28), and Merton (17, 18), Cohen sought to delineate and account for the emergence of what he called the delinquent subculture, which he considered a response to status problems of the working-class male. These problems result from the American emphasis upon upward mobility and upon the personal qualities which facilitate up-

ward mobility. The valued qualities are readily recognizable: ambition, capacity for sustained effort and for postponement of immediate gratification in the interest of long-run goals, an ethic of individual responsibility, the rational cultivation of manners, courtesy, and personability. All involve patience, self-discipline, and the control of emotional expression, particularly physical aggression and violence, and they are valued as ends in themselves by the criteria of the "middle-class measuring rod" and particularly by those—such as teachers and other professional people, businessmen, clergymen, and civic leaders—who control the means of "getting ahead" in our society.

Working-class children, says Cohen, are ill-equipped to achieve either upward mobility or the personal qualities conducive to it:

Socialization in working-class homes is less likely to produce young people with the ability to do well in terms of these criteria than is middle-class socialization. From the standpoint of middle-class people, both adults and children, and even from the standpoint of many working-class people who have been more strongly affected by middle-class culture, large numbers of working-class children appear rough, uncouth, ill-bred, undisciplined, and lacking in ambition, ability and drive. In school they are ill-equipped with the background and the habits that make it easy to master academic subjects; they are "slow learners," the despair of teachers and the butt of other students. Furthermore, the "democratic" ethos of American society itself works against them. This ethos allows and even encourages working-class children to "better themselves" and to compete for status with middle-class children and holds that they are entitled to the same rewards if deserving. By the same token, however, it subjects children

⁸To be increased to ten as the YMCA detached worker program expands under the terms of the agreement with the research program at the University of Chicago.

of differing background to evaluation by the same set of standards, the "middle-class measuring rod." The working-class child therefore compares himself and is compared by others, especially in settings dominated by "respectable" and "conventional" people, and above all in the school, to individuals who are much better equipped by virtue of their cultural training to meet the standards of comparison that operate in those settings. In short, large numbers of working-class children are systematically disadvantaged in the competitive pursuit of status and are likely to find themselves repeatedly "at the bottom of the heap" and their self-respect damaged.

This is true, however, only so long as the working-class child accepts the validity of the middle-class definitions and expectations of the child role or, in different words, if he elects to play the game and seek the prizes under the rules as defined by the dominant, middle-class culture. It is not true if the child can successfully repudiate the validity of those rules, can convince himself that the game is a contemptible one, and can repudiate also, as normative and status reference groups, those who play by those rules. To do this, however, he still needs normative support from others and alternative sources of status. As it happens, he is not unique. There are many "in the same boat" and for the same reasons. These individuals, possessing similar problems of adjustment, tend to draw together and through their sympathetic interaction develop social systems of their own and their own rules of the game and criteria of status. The central feature of the new status system . . . is fully intelligible only as a reaction to the conventional status system. Virtue comes to consist in flouting and defying middle-class morality. Orderliness, amenability to adult supervision and guidance, respect for property, polite speech and manners, the preference for diplomacy and salesmanship over violence—these are contemptuously spurned by the new, jointly supported way of life, the delinquent subculture (7).

More recently, stimulated by the challenge of searching critiques of this position and by alternative suggestions, Cohen and Short extended the area of discussion to include a *variety* of delinquent subcultures. The authors hypothesized that these different subcultures have certain elements in common and that in the lower class they emerge from the delinquent subculture previously discussed by Cohen. Before examining these relationships, however, we must consider two contributions which challenge portions of the Cohen and Cohen-Short positions and add considerable grist to the theoretical mill.

Critiques of Subculture Theory

Miller has challenged the theory that lower-class children are responding in any sense to status frustration as a result of a socially disadvantaged position in society. His position, based on his experience in the Roxbury Project (a detached worker program with street corner groups in the Boston area), is that "in the case of 'gang' delinquency, the cultural system which exerts the most direct influence on behavior is that of the lower-class community itself—a long-established, distinctively patterned tradition with an integrity of its own" (19). Miller elaborates certain "areas or issues which command widespread and persistent attention and a high degree of emotional involvement" within lower-class culture. Among these "focal concerns" are "trouble," "toughness," "smartness," "excitement," "fate," and "autonomy." Lower-class culture provides both law-abiding and non-law-abiding alternatives of behavior with respect to the focal concerns; which alternative is chosen "varies according

to the individual and the circumstances." Miller maintains that "the choice between 'law-abiding' and 'non-law-abiding' behavior is still a choice within lower-class culture," but he does not fully or systematically develop this assertion and he leaves largely untouched the problem of accounting for variations in patterns of delinquency.

Miller's rich description of "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency" raises two more questions: to what extent do delinquent subcultures emerge in response to the values of an autonomous lower-class culture and to what extent do these subcultures manifest the status frustrations of lower-class adolescents in this society of the upper- and middle-class "measuring rod"? These are questions which defy easy empirical or theoretical solution, and they have important implications for delinquency control.

A second major contribution to the understanding of delinquency is a critique of the subculture theory by Cloward and Ohlin (5) at the New York School of Social Work. Cloward reminds us that *illegal* as well as *legal* vocational opportunities are available to different degrees within the social structure (4). The underworld, for example, is selective in recruitment, tutelage, and granting of status. The availability of illegal means to success goals is defined in terms of the "relations between adult carriers of conventional and criminal values," the availability of opportunities to learn and to engage in criminal behavior which is profitable, and the degree of social control exercised by both legitimate and illegitimate segments of the social structure. Cloward and Ohlin

posit *availability of illegal means* as an important determinant of the form adolescent delinquent behavior will take.

When integration exists both between the adult carriers of criminal and conventional values, and between differing age-levels of offenders, delinquency will tend to be rational and disciplined, oriented toward criminal careers. When these integrative structures break down, however, delinquency will tend to take the form of conflict (5).

Cloward and Ohlin draw upon Kobrin's description of delinquency in "integrated" and "unintegrated" areas of the city. Kobrin emphasizes the containment of violence and destructiveness in the integrated area, as contrasted with the "wild, untrammeled character" of delinquency in the unintegrated area, where "the escape from controls originating in any social structure, other than that provided by unstable groupings of the delinquents themselves, is . . . complete" (15). Cloward and Ohlin also note a third pattern of behavior, the retreatist (involving use of drugs), which they attribute to failure or inhibition with respect to violence in the "unintegrated" area and to "criminal" behavior in the "integrated" area.

I will not further elaborate these positions except to indicate that the Youth Studies Program at the University of Chicago is studying street corner groups selected to correspond as closely as possible to the three subcultural patterns of delinquency—conflict, criminal, and retreatist. We seem to be finding, in the initial stages of our investigation, that all street corner groups are extensively involved in fighting, theft and other criminal

activity, and drinking, though there are extensive variations in each of these among different groups. Also, almost all of the boys hang around on the corner and engage in illicit sexual behavior and behavior best described as disturbing the peace. The maliciousness and negativistic behavior that Cohen attributed to the delinquent subculture—which we shall henceforth refer to as the *parent* delinquent subculture—is less ubiquitous, but otherwise the elements described by Cohen are present. Use of drugs is found in some groups, but not all, and Finestone's "cool cat" image (10) appears to be a relatively rare and specialized adjustment.

Another Look at Subcultures

It appears that the bulk of juvenile delinquency takes place within the "parent" subculture. If this is true, it follows that conflict, criminal, and retreatist subcultures are relatively rare. Two reasons for this may be suggested:

1. Commitment to a specialized adjustment such as criminal or conflict behavior is neither necessary nor appropriate for the pre- or early adolescent, for whom behavior tends to be exploratory and experimental. Group organization during this period is in general loosely structured and fluid, and family control greater than with older adolescents. The community's opportunity structure has not yet had its full impact on the child because for him vocational choice and opportunities are still in a largely fanciful stage. The status problem has arisen in school and the middle-class "measuring rod" has begun to exact its toll, but the existence, accessibility, and desirability of legitimate (or illegitimate) opportunity structures has not yet posed a problem for him.

2. The existence of extensive conflict and criminal subcultures may depend on the existence, locally, of organized crime, with the relative integration of such crime and conventional values and social structures differentiating between the two patterns. In the absence of this type of crime, boys are less likely to perceive illegitimate achievement as an available alternative because stable role models for such achievement are lacking. Hence, delinquency would be expected to retain the generally negativistic, versatile, and economically nonutilitarian character that Cohen attributed to it. If this is the case, petty habitual crime, be it in "integrated" or "unintegrated" areas, would give rise to the more general "parent" delinquent subculture (Cohen's *delinquent subculture*) rather than to the semiprofessional or "bopping" type of gang.

This analysis may help account for some of the puzzling ecological facts of gang delinquency, such as the relative absence of "bopping" and semiprofessional juvenile gangs in smaller cities or communities. Professionally organized and syndicated crime is found in our largest cities, and by and large *only* in these cities. The necessary structural conditions which would spawn the "bopping" and semiprofessional gangs are not present in smaller communities. Therefore, the parent delinquent subculture, with neither semiprofessional nor "bopping" emphasis, seems most likely to arise in smaller communities and cities.⁴

We must also consider the variable of "relative ecological density"—the number of adolescents residing in a given area. If "bopping" gangs are to arise, they must have other gangs with

⁴ Available data favor this hypothesis, but systematic documentation is still incomplete.

which to fight. Ecological conditions relate to this problem in large cities as well as in smaller communities and rural areas. A street corner group may have all the earmarks of a conflict group, yet not be involved in fighting with other groups because no groups with which to fight exist in the local area. Mobility of the groups is here involved, since groups without immediate neighbors to fight *may* travel to other areas or "turf" some distance from their own. However, the Chicago experience suggests that this rarely happens. Indeed, lack of mobility seems to be one of the major characteristics of conflict-oriented groups. It is at least a reasonable hypothesis that the extent to which a group is conflict-oriented, in terms of both fighting behavior and self-conception, is in inverse proportion to the extent to which members of the group are able and willing to move out of their turf for any reason other than fighting.

The emergence of retreatist patterns of delinquent behavior is subject to variables of this same order, such as the availability of drugs of different types, which in turn depends on the nature and extent of drug traffic among both juveniles and adults. Drug use among juveniles is not merely a function of failure or inhibition regarding available legitimate or illegitimate opportunities. The frenetic search for intoxicants, which is characteristic of street corner groups, may lead to experimentation with drugs if they are available, and addiction may follow (9). Drug usage sufficient to classify a group as drug-oriented or as a carrier of a retreatist subculture is dependent to a large degree upon features of social organization and a degree of community support.

Such factors and processes seem likely to emerge as limiting conditions in

the causation of delinquent behavior. Determination of efficient causes must entail other considerations, such as personality traits and processes (2, 3, 12) and considerations of still another sociological tradition. Briefly, this tradition is social-psychological in that it involves the individual's self-conception, his reference groups, statuses, roles, and—in the broad usage I am employing—the mechanisms of elementary collective behavior (34). It thus provides important links between psychological concerns with personality and sociological concerns with the culture, structure, and processes of group behavior and so may be expected to contribute significantly to both areas in their development of theory, research—and, ultimately, to the better understanding and control of delinquency and delinquents (5).

Implications and Conclusion

The sociological formulations cited herein have not been demonstrated. Indeed, they cry out for documentation. But it seems likely that they will prove relevant to action concerned with delinquency control and also to investigations through joint action and research programs, such as the University of Chicago-YMCA project. Important as such collaboration is, however—and one can hardly over-emphasize its importance to knowledge of both etiology and control—the theories discussed above promise to be even more important *because they are more closely related to the mainstream of the behavioral sciences than in the past*. The "problem organization" of academic disciplines has been highly beneficial in that it focused our attention on special areas and types of human behavior and alerted us to the importance of analyzing them as units. On the other

hand, it tended to remove scientists who were not interested in specific problems—juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, crime, mental illness—from contact and communication with those interested in these matters. The special problem areas of study have thus tended to develop independently of the “pure” disciplines, and the theories, insights, and methods of each often have not influenced the other. This compartmentalization has been most evident in multiple-factor approaches to delinquency and other forms of deviant behavior. The sort of raw empiricism characteristic of such studies has boasted of the lack of bias and of “letting the data speak for themselves.” Certainly, to the extent that they are reliable and valid (and there are serious questions), these studies have given us the “facts our theories must fit.” However, if we grant the points made above concerning the measurement of delinquency, the data often do not speak very eloquently, and we are left wondering what to make of them. The multiple factor “theory” cannot tell us.

Let us consider, for example, the utility of a study which, in the course of establishing multiple correlates with a measure of delinquent behavior, finds statistically significant correlations between broken homes and delinquency. Even if important variables such as age, sex, and ethnic group are held constant, such findings do not substantially advance knowledge of either etiology or control. What are we to do with the findings? *Why* do such relationships exist? How is the practitioner to *act* on the basis of such findings?

Consider now the *theory* that aggressive behavior on the part of lower-class adolescent males is often a func-

tion of sex role anxiety, which is in turn related to the unstable and derogatory father image presented the boy within the home, by the absence of a father or through the characteristic devaluation of adult males by lower-class adult females (16). Though still a theory and lacking adequate empirical foundation, such a formulation presents us with a hypothesis to investigate; if supported, it will suggest lines of further study and action in relation to the problem, because the theory attempts to tell us *why* events occur as they do—and to do so in a manner which is *testable*.

Consider, too, the status problems discussed by Cohen and the opportunity-structure problems set forth by Cloward and Ohlin. If these are supported, they have very broad implications for experimental action and research programs which will bring out the specific relations between the variables studied and provide a basis for more effective control programs. Time and space limitations preclude extensive development of the implications of their positions, but the following list provides a start:

1. To the extent that the Cohen-Short position of emergent subcultures is valid, the hope of successful intervention in the lives of participants in delinquent subcultures would appear to be greater in the case of the parent subculture than in the more specialized criminal and retreatist subcultures. To the extent that conflict behavior, like the parent subculture, represents *protest* or orientation to an adolescent status universe, rather than commitment to an alternative route for the achievements of success goals, it too should be easier to change than are criminal and retreatist subcultures. The implication of Cohen's theory

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and of Cloward and Ohlin's is that both parent and conflict subcultural adjustments are temporary in the sense that they may be solved to some extent by the post-adolescence transition to adult roles and responsibilities —*providing* the adolescent has not been maimed, socially typed, socialized to illegitimate adjustments by prisonization, or otherwise prevented from a normal transition to adult status. Drug addiction, whether or not considered retreatist, represents a further block to this transition.

2. By their very nature, opportunity problems must be dealt with on a large scale. Individual counseling and job seeking inevitably fail to meet the problems of large numbers of youths.

3. The theories spotlight the need for mobilization of opportunities for legitimate status in jobs and in other areas of life.

4. By definition, status involves relations with other persons. An effective program must concern itself with the personal relationships of the subject population, relationships with peers, in the home, on the job, in the school situation.

5. Effective mobilization of legitimate opportunity structures must involve more than social work or psychiatric agency services. Development of indigenous neighborhood and community leadership is consistent with opportunity-structure theory and establishes a framework for more effective agency services.

6. Creation of legitimate opportunities often involves social structures beyond the control of the individual adolescent, parent, probation or parole officer, or even of the neighborhood. This is particularly true in economically marginal communities and regarding problems of social organiza-

tion and control in communities undergoing rapid population change. This suggests that the community must mobilize its resources and draw leadership not only from the neighborhood but also from the larger community of business and industry, religion and politics.

7. The opportunity structure theory and the studies of human motivation suggest the necessity for motivating young people toward success in the legitimate opportunity structures that already exist or may be created in the community. The behavioral sciences can aid in the anticipation of motivational problems involving the groups to which individuals belong, problems of counteracting or changing group definitions of institutions and institutional participation.

The efficacy of inferences such as these can best be tested by field experience under a variety of carefully controlled conditions. There is no simple and direct translation of theory into action, but the best interests of both action and theory will be served in the long run by collaboration and by imaginative application of the insights and knowledge of each.

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Religion's Role in Preventing and Treating Crime and Delinquency*

THE VERY REVEREND PAUL MOORE, JR.
Dean and Rector, Christ Church Cathedral, Indianapolis

A COMMUNITY'S welfare agencies have, if only by definition, a great deal in common, and so their interrelationships should be positive and mutually beneficial. Such, however, is often not the case. Communication among these agencies suffers severe breakdowns, sometimes acute, sometimes chronic. The church is especially isolated from other agencies working to improve man's condition on earth and sometimes manages to be more of a hindrance to this end than a help.

The Church and Law Enforcement Agencies

Communication between the church and law-enforcement agencies has often been, in my experience in New York City, New Jersey, and Indianapolis, most unconstructive, to say the least. A telephone call I received one night more than amply illustrates this point:

"Father Moore? We got Kolack down here and we're warning you not to come down. We caught him red-handed this time and we're giving him the business."

This was a case of complete breakdown of communications. The precinct at the other end of the wire was

known by the people in the neighborhood as "The Bloody Fifth" for the police in this station had long used fear and strong-arm methods in the attempt to achieve their enforcement ends. What they *did* achieve, indisputably, was a feeling of strong hatred for the police in that area.

When a parishioner was arrested, his clergyman would come to the precinct to interpret for him the due process of law, to use his rapport (such as it was) as a mediating factor with the police so that the prisoner would cooperate, and to protect his parishioner from injustice and police brutality. In a larger sense, our aim was to help the police become a respected—not a feared and hated—force in the community. We thus saw ourselves as allies of the police, but they saw us as enemies or, at best, a nuisance slowing up the execution of rubber hose justice.

On the other hand, we of the round collar are sometimes viewed—equally unrealistically—as being endowed with miraculous powers, or else as providing a convenient trash can for difficult cases. Some such attitude guided the judge in the case of a sixteen-year-old girl I saw in court one day. She was pregnant for the second time and still unmarried. The judge heard her complicated case, then asked, "Don't you know that what you did was wrong?" "Yessir," she replied.

* Presented at the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, Kansas City, Mo., May 3, 1960.

"Don't you know that you let your minister down?"

"Yessir."

"Have you been to church lately?"

"Nosir."

"Well, I'm going to put you in the care of The Reverend Mr. Smith here, and I want you to promise to do what he says and to go to church. Case dismissed."

For whatever reason, the judge clearly mistook the purpose of the minister's appearance in court: he had come to be with the girl in her time of trouble and to fill in any gaps in background information. He had not come, as the judge clearly assumed, to get the girl released. Another communication failure.

The Church, the People, and the Streets

Yet because of their unique, changing, and often misunderstood position in the community, churches are exerting vigorous efforts to work out their role in the modern city, particularly in the blighted areas. We have arrived at no easy formula, but certain principles have emerged from our labors.

The church must maintain its traditional role of religious and moral educator, but it cannot succeed by relying solely on traditional methods. The Sunday School approach, for instance, is inadequate, for it does not reach those young people who need it most. We have had to go out into the streets, assuming a role similar to the detached street worker. We try first to show the unloved, hostile child that we care for him even when he is delinquent. I remember a group of such youths—real "tough" types—in a low-rent housing project. One of our

men taught them to make jewelry; he worked with them in this craft and secured their trust, and the end of the project found many of the boys spending much of their time making jewelry for their girls. The broader effects of this intervention may be inferred from the simple fact that many of the boys learned to serve the altar and became confirmed.

But we did not just start the jewelry-making class and then sit back and wait. We went to court, visited some of the boys in jail, even found ourselves in the middle of a gang war. Our efforts help set about half the boys on the right track, but throughout the long rehabilitative process, the police completely misunderstood our efforts. They believed we were approving the boys' antisocial behavior because we continued our relationship with them *before* they had reformed. Officers even went so far as to warn mothers not to send their children to "that terrible church." To my way of looking at it, we were conducting basic religious education. God loves us even when we sin; He loves us even when we fall back. This Christian idea could not be taught to these boys in Sunday School; they wouldn't have been caught dead in Sunday School. But we put it across by acting it out in their lives, dealing with their problems and the problems of their families, and by finally stepping aside so that they understood it was not the priest's love that mattered, but God's.

The Church and Social Action

One of the most controversial areas of the church's work is social action. Should the church concern itself with social problems or merely with what takes place within its four walls? I

can only say that I cannot, with clear conscience, pat a boy on the head and say "stay off the streets at night" when he is sharing a three-room apartment with four adults and seven brothers and sisters. Thus, to my way of thinking, social action is one of the church's most important functions.

The church has a direct responsibility under God to meet, to the best of its ability, the unmet needs of the community, as an act of service. The church can aid in the fight for better housing, equality of opportunity for minorities, justice in the courts and police stations. If there is insufficient recreation, the church can provide leadership for baseball teams. If there are too few social agencies in the area, the church can set up a counseling and referral service. If the neighborhood abounds in broken homes, the church can launch something along the lines of a Big Brother program.

In the problem of racial tension, the church is particularly suited for the role of mediator. We can break the ground of better understanding by demonstrating through our actions and our programs that people of different races can work and worship together and become friends. And by taking this kind of positive action, the church can prevent situations which explode into police problems.

The Church and the Parolee

The parolee comes out of prison laden with many problems, not just economic and social, but emotional as well. At a time when the parolee feels like an outcast, the clergyman can help him by being a warm, trusting, strengthening friend, someone to accept him, listen to his fears, build

up his confidence. This aspect of rehabilitation has great bearing on the other aspects. His ability to get a job depends on his confidence in himself. Without work he is open to temptation of all sorts.

The clergyman can further help the parolee by interpreting to him the program outlined by the parole officer, whom the parolee may not trust at first. And the parish family can be a small, accepting community within which the parolee can start to build his life before moving out into the colder, tougher world at large.

Some Recommendations

I have lightly touched upon the many ways in which the church can help prevent and treat crime and delinquency. I am sure there are many things we can do. What we need to do in our work and to help you in yours is to be understood with respect to both our limitations and our strengths.

I recommend that, to help achieve this end, police, probation and parole officers, social workers, and court officials take the initiative in establishing, on a local level, communication with the clergy. A half-day conference could be a start, organized on a city-wide basis or, in very large communities, on a neighborhood basis. A great asset would be the presence of one or two resource people who have had experience in agency cooperation. The meeting would be of greatest value in that it would afford an opportunity for all there to establish the sort of communication from which could grow cooperation and mutual benefit. Even the informal personal relationships beginning there could provide the basis for a day-to-day trust and

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cooperation between the agencies' personnel.

Many clergymen hesitate to become involved in the areas of crime and delinquency, for they are afraid of doing "the wrong thing," but with a little encouragement they would happily pitch in.

We are not the "starry-eyed idealists" that we are often alleged to be.

The church is a very realistic institution, and we are capable of taking as long and hard a look at a man as is a policeman. We realize there is sin in the world and we want to do something about it. We need you to teach us the things we do not know. And, if I may say so, there are some leaves from our book which would be of help to you.

Let's Bring Back Prison Labor*

COL. WILLIAM H. BURKE
Director, Iowa State Industries, Des Moines

FIIFTY-FIVE years ago, Teddy Roosevelt signed an executive order which now blocks the development of a sound and realistic program for the employment of the inmates of our state correctional institutions. Ironically, most present-day penologists laud the basic *intent* of the order, for it helped abolish the infamous contract system under which inmates were delivered into the clutches of unscrupulous contractors, who exploited them unmercifully.

Interpretations of the Executive Order

The original executive order (No. 325-A, May 18, 1905) required all government contracts to bar employment of prisoners. During World War II, the order was suspended along with the Walsh-Healy Act forbidding the federal government to purchase prison-made goods. For the first time in history, the federal government purchased some \$38,000,000 worth of goods from our state prison industries. After the war, the suspension order was canceled.

In 1942, the attorney general rendered an opinion holding that the old executive order applied only to "the use of Government projects of convict labor obtained by a private contractor under the old contract sys-

tem," and that it was not "intended to cover a situation where the prison itself is the contractor." Congress accepted this interpretation when it excluded commodities manufactured in state institutions for the federal government's use from the prohibition of transporting prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

The facts indicate that the intent of Congress was not to prohibit state utilization of prisoner labor or to prevent federal employees or agents from contracting with the states, but only to prohibit such contracts with private individuals or corporations.

Notwithstanding the opinion of the attorney general and this action by Congress, the comptroller general held in 1949 that the original executive order did not forbid federal departments to purchase finished articles from a state prison industry, but did preclude contracting for the production of articles. In 1952, the comptroller also held that the old order precluded awarding contracts to the states for the services of state prisoners.

The Modification Committee

For fifty years nothing was done to relieve this situation. Then the American Correctional Association named a committee, consisting of James Curran (Superintendent of Prisons, Maryland), Frank Smyth (Warden, Virginia State Penitentiary), and me to attempt to bring about modification of the 1905 executive order. The com-

* Presented at the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, Kansas City, Mo., May 3, 1960.

mittee has received excellent support and cooperation from the Federal Bureau of Prisons, particularly from James V. Bennett, Director, and A. H. Conner.

We are now trying to modify the old executive order so that it will permit agencies of the federal government to use state prisoners. We believe the modification of the order would be a distinct benefit in (1) fighting forest fires; (2) restoring order after flood disasters; (3) low cost salvage operations—repairing furniture, clothing, shoes, and other military material—and laundry services; (4) performing services and manufacturing articles for federal agencies whenever advantageous to the federal government.

Concrete evidence that substantial benefits would accrue from the modification may be seen in a letter we received from Richard A. McGee, California's Director of Corrections: "In California, we are very much interested in getting some modification of Presidential Order No. 325-A so that conservation camps can be established on federally owned land in the state. Some of the most disastrous fires that occurred in California last year occurred on federal domain. In spite of the fact that 1959 was probably the worst fire year in the history of this state, the fires occurring on state-owned lands were quickly contained because of our twenty-three camps interspersed widely over the state. Our governor and our legislature are not only interested in the fire protection of the forty-eight million acres of federal property in California, but also in helping federal agencies to preserve the forests, the water sheds, and the recreational assets of these areas."

Not alone in California does this situation prevail. Nearly all of our states have opportunities for similar activities, such as developing recreational areas, improving fisheries and wild life habitats, and a variety of other projects, all of which would benefit the nation as well as the states, but which are of such a nature that if inmate labor were not used, money would not be appropriated or contracts let for this work. This is the crux of the situation: the conservation camp program cannot function at full capacity and efficiency because the presidential order won't permit any federal agency to contract for state prison labor.

We agree that there were sound reasons for taking prisoners out of slavery, but the form of peonage at the turn of the century cannot be compared with the enlightened programs now operating in many states, programs in which prisoners are eager to participate. We are not seeking to abrogate the presidential order, but rather to modify it in order to allow such federal agencies as the U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, National Park Service, Indian Service, etc., to contract with the several state departments of correction for the services of inmates in national parks and forests.

Prognosis

In the interests of this modification, our committee has met with several departments of government. At a recent White House Conference with representatives of the departments of Labor, Justice, Commerce, Defense, and others of the executive branch, we found no one opposed to the modification proposed by the committee.

And while we were warned that organized labor opposes any modification of the executive order, this has not proved true. However, when discussing this case with legislators, we found repeatedly an almost complete ignorance of the executive order. If we are to secure the modification of the order, we will need all the support we can muster. You can aid in making our efforts felt by advising your friends in Congress of your interest in this venture.

We are fairly confident that our goal of modifying the old executive order will be reached. One encouraging note was provided by the following letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

April 4, 1960

Dear Mr. Burke:

Thank you for your letter of March tenth, with respect to the meeting we had on February twenty-ninth, concerning revision of Executive Order 325-A.

Under Secretary of Labor O'Connell and representatives of other interested agencies are now considering the revision of this Executive Order. They will certainly keep in mind the suggestion you made concerning a committee to police contracts between agencies of the Federal Government and State Prison officials.

Thank you for giving me the benefit of your views with respect to this matter.

Sincerely,
Gerald D. Morgan
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Prisoners' Aid and Penal Reform*

A. M. KIRKPATRICK

Executive Director, John Howard Society of Ontario

IT WOULD be folly to discuss any correctional system without considering the concepts of punishment which are its heritage. A correctional system reflects the public's attitudes, which are deeply rooted in national and provincial history and traditions and modified from time to time by changing ideas in religion, morality, and ethics.

Ever since Adam and Eve did some sparkling in a well-known public place and Cain and Abel had their fatal squabble over the back boundary, every man has been in some way prone, to a greater or lesser extent, to lust and larceny.

Society has always tried to limit such expressions of human emotion by various sanctions and regulations, aimed at the protection of both person and property.

The earliest sanctions governing human behavior were those provided by personal and family retribution. Often, by this system, the innocent paid the price of the guilty. Tribal war and blood feud characterized the era.

The first system of laws that we know of was set forth in Hammurabi's Code, a collection of laws established by a ruling monarch for his people. Then the laws of Moses proscribed certain kinds of behavior and set limits to the vengeance a victim might exact. The Mosaic law attempted to formulate certain equivalents (the

phrase we commonly remember today is "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"), but we should realize that this in reality *prohibited* the exaction of *more* than an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth.

With the development of tribal and monarchical organization, the ruler took over the right to avenge offenses. Such justice, primarily intended to protect society and solidify the clan or tribal organization, could no longer be considered purely retributive: the era of deterrent punishment began.

Deterrence

The belief behind deterrent punishment is that behavior can be controlled by fear; therefore, the argument goes, severe treatment of a criminal is effective in two directions at once: it deters the criminal himself from committing another crime and, by the example of his punishment, it deters others from wrong-doing.

Theory and practice coincided. The penal system's categories of finely graduated corporal and capital punishments developed in accord with ingenuity in devising more subtle methods of torture, shaming, or killing. In England only two hundred years ago, over three hundred offenses were subject to capital punishment. And the heritage of corporal and capital punishment persists in our penal practices today.

In January, 1838, in Upper Canada (now Ontario), Private John As-

* From an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, May 11, 1959.

kew was court-martialed for having deserted his post. "He was sentenced to be given one hundred strokes of the lash, to be branded on both hands with the letter 'D' and to be transported to Van Diemen's Land for life." A marginal note on the document records that "the sentence of the court was duly carried out."

This sort of treatment was not confined to the military penal system. A report of the first investigation ever made into the affairs of Kingston Penitentiary, in Ontario, in 1849, notes that for "standing out of line, jumping, grimacing, making strange noises," Peter Charbonneau, a ten-year-old convict, was stripped and publicly lashed fifty-seven times in less than nine months.

John Howard (1726-1790) began his humanitarian work in punitive bastilles like that one. After he had been captured on a sea voyage and placed in a prison hulk in Brest harbor, he decided to find out what happened to prisoners in civil jails. He visited all the jails and prisons in England, and eventually those on the Continent too, and in two plainly written volumes he reported what he saw. He put forward no penal plan of his own; he was simply shocked at the conditions of the prisons and at the treatment that human beings received in them. His work stirred the public conscience and led to the passing of ameliorative legislation.

He and Elizabeth Fry worked on a New Testament principle that had been almost wholly forgotten for nearly 2,000 years: "A new commandment I give to you; that you love one another." Their work stressed the dignity and worth of all human beings, including sinners, and suggested the possibility of merciful justice.

The Quakers of England and America were in the forefront of this movement. Led by William Penn, the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1682 provided, for the first time in the history of criminal jurisprudence, that the majority of crimes should be punished by hard labor in houses of correction. Though the Reform Law was abandoned for a few years, it was adopted again in 1790, shortly after a public memorial had been addressed to the legislature by the Philadelphia Prison Society, the first prison reform society in America.

Custodial prisons were introduced as a reform; but they were still intended to be a deterrent as well as to lead to penitence through a program of work, solitude, and the consolation of the Bible.

This prison movement, which began in 1790 in the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia, has since spread throughout the world. It works on the assumption that the rougher the treatment, the greater the deterrence.

In England in 1944, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, said on the question of penal reform: "The first principle . . . is to keep as many offenders as possible out of prison. In the 1860's it was laid down in plain terms that the sole object of imprisonment was punitive deterrence with the emphasis on the punitive. Just that. And so for a generation we had the most strictly deterrent penal system ever devised. The experiment had to be made at some time. The belief in the efficiency of severe punishment is always cropping up and without the devastating failure of this experiment we might never have known better. The failure was so complete that a departure to fresh principles became essential."

Prisoners' Aid in the Community

When prisoners are held in custody instead of being killed or transported, they must eventually be released back to the community. Citizens concerned about the lot of the deprived and disinherited began to see that men and women coming from prisons had to face considerable problems of readjustment.

At first these people had been chiefly concerned with conditions inside the prisons. John Kidman, one of the early workers in prisoners' aid in Canada, reported in his book that the first Canadian prisoners' aid society was established, in Toronto in 1874, by those who a few years earlier had formed a Sunday School in the local jail. He said that "these workers discovered what all such workers do, that it was useless to preach to men and women in prison unless their material needs on release are also given attention."

These workers, who were chiefly drawn from the business and professional life of the community, were at first prompted by their religion to show mercy and to ameliorate prison conditions. But through their after-care work in the community and their growing knowledge of medical, psychiatric, psychological, and social work teachings, they began to develop the idea that the object of a penal service should be to reform the offender. They came to believe that a man can be made to change if the causes of his antisocial behavior are studied and treated.

Since this concept developed outside the penal system, and since its advocates tried to penetrate the penal system from without, it naturally met with resistance. This was the era of the reformer who spoke vigorously and

publicly of the defects of the penal system; it was the era of conflict between private agencies and government services.

Fear and law-enforcement traditions of deterrence and custody ruled the prisons. On the other hand, the prisoners' aid societies represented the humanitarian conscience of the community and the developing social sciences.

The idea that reformation should be the objective of the penal system slowly gained acceptance. People began to realize that although prisons are places which we send men to, they are also places that men come from. They saw that it is useless to send men away from society to learn how to live in society if they learn only how to live in a prison. It became clear that changing prisoners' attitudes cost less, was more humane, and protected the public better than a system under which prisoners merely "did time."

The Correctional Idea Dawns

The correctional idea, which came into being at about the turn of the century, and which the prisoners' aid societies expressed in reports, public hearings, and representations to governmental bodies, brought about legislative action. Progressive correctional administrators and treatment staffs were employed, and funds were provided for developing progressive programs, for retraining and educating staff members, and for modern specialized institutions. But all these developments were still within the custodial framework. There has been no basic change in the charge given to the prison warden that he hold the offender in secure custody till the expiration of his sentence. He is not

ordered to treat him; he is not ordered to retrain him; he is ordered simply to hold him.

The function that prisoners' aid societies can usefully serve today was described in a recent report by James V. Bennett, director of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Prisons, in which he said, "Prisons have no alumni, they have no boosters, they have nobody who is coming to their rescue. What we have is civic-minded people—people who take on the nonenforceable responsibilities of citizenship and join together in prison reform organizations like the John Howard Association and others in each city and bring to bear the force of their views on the legislatures and on administrators like myself and others."

Such a statement reflects a correctional service which is able and willing to change itself from within and to seek constructive criticism from outside. But there are many backwaters and eddies in this stream of correctional progress. The community must be made aware of these, and must exert pressure for reform. General Gibson, Commissioner of Penitentiaries for Canada, sums up this concept: "These various Prisoners Aid Organizations (the majority of which are known as John Howard Societies) serve as the conscience of the community in its consideration of the whole program of crime and delinquency."

Although the prisoners' aid societies are still concerned with bringing about penal reforms, probably their most important work today is with ex-inmates in the community. Indeed, they draw their knowledge of the needs and problems of the penal system from their relationship with ex-prisoners.

In 1835 the regulations of Kingston Penitentiary provided that "A discharged convict shall be clad in a decent suit of clothes, selected from the clothing taken from new convicts. . . . He shall then be supplied with money, according to the distance of the district where he was tried, but not exceeding the sum specified in the Law—One Pound. As the time when the convict is about to be discharged is favourable for eliciting the truth, with a view to obtaining facts which may be useful, the chaplain will endeavour to obtain from him a short history of his life, his parentage, education, temptations, and the various steps by which he was led into a course of vice and crime, and commit the same to writing, for the information of the Inspectors; after which, the convict shall be discharged with a suitable admonition and advice."

We have come a long way since then.

The correctional service's only reason for existence is the man committed to custody by law; the prisoners' aid society's only reason for existence is the same man who walks in the front door seeking help. Now that the prisoner's aid workers have access to the institutions for help to inmates who are soon to be released, they have a service relationship and, in fact, a partnership with correctional staffs.

Some Canadian Experiences

In Canada prisoners' aid societies are, in cooperation with the government agencies, defining and achieving certain objectives. Principally, they must build for the returning inmate a bridge between the institution and the community. There must be receptivity at both ends and the arch

must be strong enough to bear the traffic.

Our federal and provincial governments have recently shown interest in the development of the prisoners' aid societies and have given them financial support. However, these societies are formed of voluntary groups of citizens, responsible to their communities and to boards of directors elected to carry on the work. And they are financed for the most part from the resources of the community, usually through United Appeals and Community Chests. This guarantees the integrity of the operation of the societies.

Every province except one has prisoners' aid services, most of them being provided by John Howard societies. Some provincial societies are quite large and widespread: the Ontario John Howard Society, for example, has twelve branches. The Correctional Services Department of the Salvation Army is organized on a national basis and provides coverage in all provinces, so that even the one province which does not have a provincial society has prisoners' aid services. The Elizabeth Fry Society, which works with women, has branches in several provinces and in some cases is closely associated with the John Howard Society. Quebec, with its large French-Catholic population, is served by the Société d'Orientation et de Réhabilitation Sociale in Montreal and by the Service de Réadaptation Sociale, Inc., in Quebec City. Montreal also has the John Howard Society of Quebec, and the Catholic Rehabilitation Service, which works with the English-speaking Catholic client.

Pre-release Preparation

Since about 1946 prisoners' aid societies in Canada have had a policy

of interviewing the offender, whenever possible, in the institution before his release. In cooperation with the institutions, all the societies have set up prerelease services to ensure the referral of the inmate and to get some picture of him before he is released. They hope to learn something of his strengths and weaknesses, his plans and resources, his personality and social handicaps, his relationships in the community, his employability, and any other factors which might affect the kind of plan which the agency's representative could help him to work out for himself. The institutional staff explain the services of the various rehabilitation agencies to the inmate. Most of the agencies believe that it then becomes important for the man to take the next step and request help himself. Obviously, for such a program to be effective, the cooperation of the institution's classification staff is essential.

Recently a number of programs which permit the gradual release of the offender have been developed. Wardens are authorized to allow the inmate out of the prison during the day and evening for a few weeks prior to his release on expiry of sentence or parole. With the institutional officers the prisoners' aid society works out a program of orientation to the community by shopping expeditions, general exploration, attendance at athletic events, and visits to restaurants and homes. It has proven of inestimable value to long-sentence men.

Material Assistance

Material assistance is a fundamental part of the services given by the prisoners' aid agencies. Such assistance is essential because the discharge gratuities paid by the penal institutions

are usually very small and the inmate is practically insolvent when he returns to the community, and because most of the social services available to other citizens are inaccessible to him.

Prisoners' aid societies point out how difficult it is for ex-inmates to survive on their return to the community, and show that they need more "gate money" on discharge. They also try to have ex-inmates' problems considered when regulations for the various social insurance and assistance programs are drafted, so that ex-inmates may not be disqualified from receiving the benefits of such programs.

"You cannot counsel a man on a hungry stomach." It is socially immoral to encourage him to seek employment and re-establishment in the community, and not to help him maintain himself while he is awaiting his first pay.

So it is that in our prisoners' aid work, while we try to make the public services take on greater responsibility, we do provide for ex-inmates food, lodgings, work clothes, and work tools. By rendering this type of service throughout the country we can do much to help ex-prisoners to create new lives for themselves.

Employment

The employment of the offender—and the personal and social considerations that affect both his initial employability and his continuing employment—is one of the most important factors in his re-establishment in the community.

In Canada the National Employment Service has a Special Placements Department to assist handicapped people. By regulation, for thirty days

after their release ex-inmates fall within this category and are entitled to the help of Special Placements officers. The men and women of Special Placements Service and those of the after-care societies have a record of excellent service and cooperation. The difference in their functions is that the Employment Service officers specialize in job-finding and placement, whereas the aftercare workers specialize, through social casework, in supporting and encouraging the man in all the rebuffs he inevitably receives as he starts looking for a job.

Legal Aid

Many problems about the inmate's legal status will always be coming up. He has legal problems on the inside just as other people have on the outside. At one time the prisoners' aid societies helped with these problems, and in some cases they still do; in a number of our provinces, however, the bar associations have set up legal services to assist the inmate.

The prisoners' aid societies now usually suggest to the inmate in need of such help that he use these services; thus the societies are left free to work for his re-establishment on his return to the community. In this case, a private professional association cooperates with government services and private agencies, to a mutual end.

Supervision of Parolees

An interesting development in recent years has been that the Parole Service of the Department of Justice has used the prisoners' aid societies to supervise men on parole. So our social workers have had to use authority within a treatment relationship, and they have found that they can work comfortably in this way.

The Parole Service may stress the legal or regulatory aspects of supervision and be concerned primarily that the parolee satisfies the period and conditions of his parole. Perhaps the prisoners' aid societies are more concerned about resolving the parolee's personal problems and his conflicts with society. This should be more important, both for the ex-inmate and for the community, than the somewhat minimal criteria that he satisfy his parole and make no subsequent return to prison.

But these are problems of emphasis rather than of material difference: the two agencies really have the same objectives. It is interesting to note that the inmate is released under the authority of the regional representative of the Parole Service but under the supervision of the prisoners' aid society. Statistical analysis shows that the supervision provided by the prisoners' aid societies in the last few years has helped reduce the rate of failure of men on parole and has helped them adjust more successfully to their communities.

Public Education

Citizen interest in and financial support of the work of prisoners' aid societies has been steadily increasing. But prisons are still prisons, and community attitudes to ex-offenders still vary from utter cynicism to frank acceptance and support.

The prisoners' aid societies are part of an integrated process of correction involving both public and private agencies; but we are the rear guard of the system and deal with the failures of all the social institutions whose efforts have preceded ours. It would be folly on our part to accept blame or credit for success or failure when we are but extensions of a pro-

cess which has long conditioned the ex-inmate before he reaches our door.

We must continually remind our communities of the words of Sir Alexander Patterson, a great British Prison Commissioner: "Finally, we will beware of the cynicism that paints every prisoner drab and never thinks of him in any other capacity. When a man steps into the dock, he is a husband and father, a worker and taxpayer, accustomed to take care of himself and others, not requiring an order at every turn and two thousand rules to govern his daily conduct. The saying of a few words by a judge does not transform him into an entirely different creature, who can never be trusted, who has no decent instinct or loyalty. If he is treated as a sensible and self-reliant man, he is likely to play such a part. Even when he has failed once or twice, there may well be some side of his nature to which appeal has not yet been made. The world owes much to those who have failed and made a fresh start."

We have discussed the difference between the public agencies and the private prisoners' aid societies, which in the early days was based upon the clash of apathy, ignorance, and brutality with the desire for reform. We have seen how, with a program of service to the offender, the private and public services have drawn together in a cooperative relationship in which communication of ideas and attitudes has become increasingly possible.

But we must never become complacent: we must recall the words of administrators like James Bennett and General Gibson, who expect not only that we cooperate with one another, but that we still remain sufficiently apart to look objectively on the whole

correctional process and to work to improve it.

Finally, the inmate himself must have some understanding of the process. We find that, in spite of the barriers of his general resistance to authority and his acceptance of the inmate subculture, he is becoming increasingly aware of the objectives of public and private agencies.

Certainly the caseloads of the prisoners' aid societies are increasing year by year—so much so that the societies are almost embarrassed and find it difficult to maintain their quality. Certainly, too, there are more requests for prerelease interviews in the prisons. It is to the credit of the boards and staffs of the prisoners' aid societies that they, with community support, have been able to meet this challenge so successfully.

The community is ultimately responsible for the success of our public and private programs. Therefore we must constantly concern ourselves with the education of the public. We must pierce to the core of human values and make our communities aware of the worth and dignity of every human being and of the responsibility of society itself to foster the abundant life and the ultimate good of all.

Lewis Mumford, in his book *Faith for Living*, has expressed it thus: "The final test of an economic system is not the tons of iron, the tanks of oil, or the miles of textiles it produces; the final test lies in its ultimate products—the sort of men and women it nurtures and the order and beauty and sanity of their communities."

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Summary Probation

A Way to Provide More Probation Service for Misdemeanants

GLENN WALLACE*

IT IS the thesis of this article that summary probation, when used properly, is a useful and effective method of handling many misdemeanants and that it is a feasible method of providing probation services to the lower courts. A notable decision of the California Appellate Court¹ in 1956 charted the course for the probation departments and the lower courts in that state.

Summary Probation: Old Style

Since 1941, in California, a judge has been definitely within his rights when, after a plea or verdict of guilty, he sentences a defendant, suspends execution of the sentence, and *summarily—without a presentence investigation*—places him on probation. Prior to the appellate decision referred to above, the placing of a person on summary probation in California meant little more than simply suspending a sentence. Terms and conditions of probation were seldom if ever specified; even when they were, follow-up occurred only if the probationer committed another violation within the jurisdiction of the sentencing court. And if the court's records were

inadequate, even a subsequent conviction for the same offense would not result in any action being taken on the suspended sentence.

By and large, probation officers have been opposed to that kind of probation, although its use in the lower courts has been extensive. Newspapers, in reporting dispositions of cases brought before the courts, seldom make any distinction between summary and formal probation; and, if they do, the reading public probably does not understand the difference. It is fair to assume that the general public believes that all persons "on probation" are under the supervision of probation officers.

New Style

The appellate court's decision made it clear that probation departments could become a party to the summary probation compact, and certain other shortcomings were remedied. This decision came about as a result of action taken by the district attorney of Ventura County (a petition for a writ of mandamus) to compel a lower court to perform certain operations in connection with granting summary probation.

The decision maintained that "an order suspending sentence is nothing more nor less than the granting of probation," and held, further, that in all such cases the courts must con-

* Mr. Wallace, chief probation officer of Santa Barbara County, Calif., wrote this article shortly before his death on May 3, 1960 (see *CRIME AND DELINQUENCY*, July, 1960, p. 308). —Ed.

¹ *The People, Petitioner, v. Municipal Court of Oxnard-Port Hueneme Judicial District, etc., Respondent*, 145 CA 2d 767.

form to the following provisions of the state's penal code:

1. Take and preserve the fingerprints of the probationer.
2. Require that the defendant report, during the period of probation, either to the court or to the probation officer at times specified by the court.
3. Furnish the defendant with probation papers stating (a) the length of probation; (b) the terms and conditions of probation; (c) the person to whom, and the times at which, the defendant is to report during the probationary period; (d) the right of the defendant, upon completion of probation, to have the conviction set aside and the complaint dismissed.

With this decision it became clear that summary probation is more than merely a judicial device for disposing of certain kinds of cases; rather, it is to be used to secure "law-compliance through an attempt at helpful co-operation rather than by coercion or punishment." Furthermore, the court must now be specific about the kind of behavior to be avoided, and it must provide supervision and follow-up. In short, the purposes of summary probation and of formal probation (which is not granted without a presentence investigation) are the same.

When this decision was handed down, the Honorable Frank P. Kearney, Judge of the Municipal Court in the City of Santa Barbara, saw in it an opportunity to provide rehabilitative treatment for many more of the misdemeanants who appeared before him. He has always referred certain cases to the probation department for presentence investigation and recommendation, and he continues to do so. He believed, however, that summary probation could be granted safely

and profitably to many other cases coming before his court, provided there was consistent supervision and follow-up.

It was obvious that this function could not be performed by the court; time and lack of sufficient personnel precluded it. Moreover, the judge thought it fitting that the job of supervision be turned over to the probation department, which had personnel trained in that field. Although we have had to add to our staff to take care of the greater work load, the number of officers added is far smaller than it would have been if each case referred had required a presentence investigation and report. Probation departments in California must accept summary cases for supervision, if the court so orders.

Time-saving Form

Several procedural matters had to be taken care of before the plan was put into operation. In the first place, written "probation papers" are a requirement. To avoid extra clerical work and to save time, Judge Kearney prepared and had printed a "Summary Probation Order." In addition to such information as name, date, offense, sentence, and length of term, the order contains twenty-three specific terms and conditions of probation and room for others to be added. The judge fills it in (in triplicate) while he is on the bench and at the time probation is granted, checking off the terms and conditions that apply to a particular case. The defendant is instructed to read and sign the order before he leaves court *and to report to the probation officer immediately after court*. This is an important step in the summary probation procedure as used in this jurisdiction. During the

initial interview with the probation officer the probationer receives his own copy of the judge's order.†

Initial Interview

Many of the men and women placed on summary probation are appearing in court for the first time. They may appear after having spent a night in jail. The experience for most is traumatic. The probationer meets the officer before the impact of this experience is dissipated—before a return to the routines of his regular way of life reduces his feelings of insecurity and need for help.

At this first meeting several points are brought home to the probationer:

1. As the terms and conditions of his probation are explained, including the times and method of reporting, he realizes that probation actually means that his behavior will be supervised.

2. Hopefully, the probationer will realize that the man who will be supervising him is more interested in helping him complete the probation term successfully than in catching him in a violation.

3. The defendant will realize, too, that his probation officer is more than an officer, that he is a man to whom he can turn for guidance and advice. (We know from experience that many of these people *did* want help but because of pride, shyness, or weakness were unable to ask for it and might never have obtained it had they not got into trouble.)

4. Some of those who come in can

admit, for the first time, that they have problems they cannot cope with alone; e.g., alcoholism, marital discord, mental and emotional disorders. And these are the ones who, as a rule, will follow through on a referral to the Family Service Agency, the Mental Hygiene Clinic, the Alcoholism Information Center, and other agencies.

Facing Reality for the First Time

Basic to the successful use of summary probation is the suspended jail sentence. This is particularly true for those who have never been in jail. If a jail sentence has any deterrent effect it is at the point where the man or woman *first* faces the prospect of being locked up for a year, six months—or even for ten days.

Some social workers may deplore this procedure, seeing in it a form of coercion, and may doubt that rehabilitation can take place under such conditions. Such skeptics will probably evaluate the procedure almost entirely from a theoretical point of view and will advance the familiar argument that unless a person in trouble voluntarily seeks help no real reformation can be achieved. Viewed empirically, however, the procedure succeeds in enough cases to justify its use. The impending jail sentence is the prod some persons need to make them do something about their problems. It will not affect the so-called psychopaths, of course, but our experience during the past two years has convinced us that we are providing an important service to many people who are in need of help and who, without this service, might become recidivist misdemeanants, felons, or institutional cases.

† Requests for copies of the "Summary Probation Order" used in Santa Barbara may be directed to Frank B. Kearney, Judge, Municipal Court, 118 E. Figueroa, Santa Barbara, Calif., or to Clifford C. Romer, Chief Probation Officer, at the same address.—Ed.

Typical Cases

A few examples from our files:

1. A wealthy widow residing in an exclusive neighborhood pleaded guilty to drunk driving, an offense that appears with regularity on lower court calendars. Such cases are seldom referred to a probation department for formal investigation and report; most often the sentence is a fine. In this instance a fine would have been ineffective as a deterrent. As she stood before the bench, shaking and tearful and evasively answering the questions, the judge sensed that here was a case where stronger and continuing action should be instituted. A ninety-day sentence to the county jail was suspended for three years, and she was placed on probation.

When she arrived at the probation department she was humiliated, fearful, and eager to cooperate. The impact of the first criminal court appearance, plus the possibility of having to go to jail during the next three years if she failed to observe the terms and conditions of probation, made it relatively easy for her to admit that she was an alcoholic and had been one for a number of years. Until then she had been able to conceal the fact. For the first time she could admit that she was unable to handle the problem alone, and she readily accepted the help of the local Alcoholism Information Center. She was directed to a suitable AA chapter; also, she actually followed a suggestion that the hours once devoted to self-pity and drink could be better spent on volunteer service at a local welfare agency. She continues to see her probation officer regularly; to the best of his knowledge she has quit drinking completely.

2. An attractive young woman who worked in a government office consistently refused to pay any attention to citations given her for overtime parking. When she had accumulated nineteen tickets, the court issued an arrest warrant. She was given a suspended sentence of nineteen days in the city jail (the maximum possible) and was placed on probation for two years. She was ordered to pay the regular fine, as a term of probation, and also to report in person to the probation officer once a week. The requirement that she report in person was intended as a device to get the young woman to accept responsibility; it turned out to have more significant consequences. Through his weekly visits with the probationer and from information received from relatives and others who learned that she was on probation, the supervising officer became aware that Miss Doe was in need of psychiatric care. The failure to respond to traffic tickets was just one of the several symptoms of a neurotic condition. She was guided to the local mental hygiene clinic for therapy. She continues to see a psychiatrist, has continued in her employment, and there have been no more overtime parking tickets—or any other law violations.

3. Through the Adult Education Department of the city schools, a "Driver Attitude" class was established to which traffic-law violators eighteen years of age and older can be sent. The class is composed of men who attend one night weekly for six weeks as a condition of probation. Failure to attend without an excuse acceptable to the court means a night in jail for the truant.

4. Offenders who have regular jobs at which they do well but who get

drunk and disorderly at night and on week ends are ordered to spend nights or week ends in the county jail as a term and condition of probation. Families are thus kept off relief rolls, and the offender does not lose his job.

5. A man who threatened his wife with a shotgun (and who had done so on a previous occasion, it was learned) was ordered to turn over all his guns to the probation officer, who was to sell them at a fair price and turn the proceeds over to the probationer. This was a condition of probation.

6. A former accountant, who took to cheap wine when his income dwindled, was ordered to open a bank account, as a condition of probation, and to make deposits regularly. Notwithstanding the close surveillance of the probation officer, this probationer managed to accumulate enough money to buy wine, however, and the plan failed. His probation was revoked.

Realistic View

It can be said, of course, that all we accomplish by summary probation could be accomplished—and possibly better—through the formal probation process, with a thorough presentence investigation and report. The realistic answer to that charge is that it simply would not be done. Aside from the economic aspects of a large increase in staff, the process of

justice would be slowed down if we took from two to three weeks to make a full investigation of each case. What with the volume of cases going through the lower courts and the relatively minor nature of the offenses, some offenders would refuse to accept the delay necessary in the formal process, and the judge, on the other hand, would not permit the application to be made.

All seven of the lower courts in the county are now using summary probation in the manner described. And in each of these courts we are also receiving more formal applications than we did before. By broadening the scope of probation services, we have been able to reach more first-time and minor offenders than we did when we were concerned only with so-called formal probation.

Of course, one of the main factors in the successful use of summary probation is the judge himself. If he is observant and intuitive, if he is seriously concerned with correcting the behavior of those who appear before him rather than just punishing them, if he is more interested in prevention than the amount of money in fines his court brings in, and if he has faith in the probation department that serves him—the plan will work. Judge Frank P. Kearney has pioneered in a procedure that other courts can follow with confidence.

Counseling the Petty Offender

A Probation Department's Experience in Dealing with the "Revolving Door" Problem

HOWARD A. GEORGE

Deputy Director, Erie County Probation Department, Buffalo, N. Y.

FOR a number of years, we in probation work have realized that persons in court on charges of public intoxication, vagrancy, or allied offenses were receiving sentences which, while they effectively removed the offenders from the community, did little to insure their rehabilitation or keep them out of court. This "revolving door" problem has always plagued the courts, places of incarceration, and the community. It is a costly problem, in terms of both money and humanity.

Presentence Investigation

In Erie County, we have jurisdiction in all the courts—Supreme, County, Children's, City, Police, and Justice of the Peace—except in Lackawanna. The Buffalo City Court has always given us the greatest number of cases connected with drinking, so some four years ago we set up a project which could help us understand the problem of these defendants and help them deal with these problems.

We assigned a probation officer to the part of the Buffalo City Court handling the vagrancy and drunkenness cases. The officer was to interview the defendants, then give the judge an idea of the persons coming before him, offer suggestions that might be helpful to him in the sentencing, and give on-the-spot counseling or referrals if the judge so directed.

Prior to this program, the judge had often been faced with the overwhelming task of disposing of as many as sixty cases in one morning—offenders charged with public intoxication, loitering, vagrancy—and he could give them only the most casual treatment. The judge saw the need for assistance, but none was available until the probation department provided its service, which made available a review of the offender's past criminal record and provided a brief résumé of his problem, a recommendation to the court, if requested, and a very brief social biography consisting of the offender's marital, home, and employment status.

Counseling Inmates

Many of the persons coming before the court needed some type of care other than dismissal, suspended sentence, or commitment. We were very happy to be able to refer many of these people to welfare agencies, either public or private, and health, employment, and other agencies in the community. As our project continued, however, we saw that the person coming into court was not the only one needing help; also in need was the penitentiary inmate who would have to face the outside world after serving his time.

We therefore added another service to the project—a release program which offered counseling to county

penitentiary inmates who were about to complete their sentences. It offered, on an optional basis, counsel, advice, and referral services to help the inmate formulate plans for his return to the community. The officer might refer him to a welfare agency if he needed temporary relief, or provide for job referral, or help him get in touch with relatives or friends so that he wouldn't have to face alone the almost inevitable problems.

Most of the persons released needed help of one kind or another and took advantage of this counseling service. It is interesting to note, however, that the women inmates were much more self-sufficient than the men. Most of the women had plans for their post-penitentiary future, and it was the rare exception who requested help from our officers.

Some Findings

After the program had been in effect for two years, we took a long look at the results. The penitentiary population had fallen off more than 25 per cent during these two years and appearances before the court had greatly decreased, but whether this was a direct result of the program was and still is a matter only for speculation.

We studied the period from July 1, 1957 to June 30, 1958. During that period we had interviewed 1,290 persons in the penitentiary and some 2,260 persons in City Court. The main problems in both groups were connected with drinking. By and large, these offenders were unskilled laborers who did odd jobs. The men outnumbered the women more than ten to one; most were in the 35-to-45-year age group, single, and living alone. The majority had lived in our community for more than a year and had

not often been in court or the penitentiary, but a small segment did fall into the "revolving door" category. Most of these two groups were individuals who, with some help with their drinking problems or their homelessness, could be rehabilitated back to the community and become self-supporting and productive.

We made numerous referrals. In City Court we have made approximately one referral per contact; in the penitentiary program, approximately two per contact. These referrals took the form of contacts with public and private agencies for lodgings, temporary relief, and medical services, and contacts with Alcoholics Anonymous, denominational organizations, and other volunteer groups that help the individual cope with his problems. We also made many contacts with relatives whom we asked to provide material or supportive help for the person in trouble.

Typical Cases

1. An illustration of some of the benefits this service provided is the case of Joe G. Now a 51-year-old man, he had first appeared in court in 1925 as a wayward minor. From 1928 to 1957, the time of our contact, he was constantly in and out of City Court. He adjusted quietly to institutional living and became a well-known character at the penitentiary, where he spent ten years of his life on sixty-four commitments. Joe was harmless, very trustworthy when sober, and quiet, tense, shy. He was inclined to be rather superficial in his contacts with people; apparently he drank to make up for these deficiencies.

For all that Joe was quite a well-known person, our probation officer

became acquainted with him only after we established our City Court project. He was not difficult to know, and after ascertaining Joe's needs—clothing, shelter, food, and work—the probation officer called the Salvation Army and found that they would accept Joe. After the probation officer told Joe what the Salvation Army facilities were, Joe agreed to try staying at the Salvation Army and work for his room and board. He realized he was under no compulsion to accept this plan; the officer succeeded through rapport.

Although Joe has had several relapses, he attended Alcoholics Anonymous meetings and there has found support and companionship. We have succeeded with Joe to the extent that he realizes his drinking is a symptom of his problems and he has been willing to accept help. He has been "dry" for a year, he has a steady job, and we recently saw him, smartly dressed and the picture of health. He had been considered a hopeless case, but he has shown his willingness to accept help and to work toward rehabilitation. His continued sobriety and generally improved life serve as an example to the many who knew him at the penitentiary.

2. Another happy example of the effects of our work is thirty-four year old Frank N. For five years he has had a drinking problem, which began after the death of his wife. For two years he was on skid row. After our first contact with him, his drinking continued but he did secure a hospital job. His period of sobriety, between sprees, lasted three months at most. When he returned to court, we showed our interest in him by counseling and by referring him to AA. Again, we helped just by being avail-

able: we were someone to whom the lonely person could turn, someone who would really care what happened to him. Frank is consistently sober now and has established himself again in the community. He lives with his second wife and with his son, who was formerly a ward of a private agency. We believe he has made good progress in solving his problems and we have high hopes of not seeing him in court again.

Our program was beneficial to Frank in that it helped him realize first, that he had a problem, and second, that he could, with the help of community agencies, conquer it. Before the program went into effect, he would have been sent to the penitentiary, served his sentence, and been released. There would have been no one to show an interest in him as an individual, except to see that he served his time. We made him realize someone cared for him; he responded by showing that he cared too.

3. Finally, among the many cases that would tell our story, there is that of Louisa R., a woman in her sixties who had had a drinking problem for approximately twenty years. Although she could not have been called an alcoholic, she was a heavy drinker. After a drinking bout, she would usually request that she be sent to the penitentiary, where she had spent approximately thirteen years of her life and where she was well liked. In no sense of the word was she a criminal; she was a social problem because of her drinking. Louisa was a lonely person who found her only security in drinking and in the penitentiary. Our probation officer talked to her and found that she wanted a small home of her own where she could be independent. He helped her secure

old age benefits and, working through the welfare department, set up Louisa in a room of her own. She had at last her own "home."

Then Louisa began drinking again. She is serving time in the penitentiary because of her lapse, but will soon be released. We must work with her again, not condemning her for her lapses, but trying to help her overcome the problem. She did have a period of comparative sobriety, which we hope will be the stepping stone to longer periods of sobriety, and perhaps eventual abstinence.

Meaning of the Project

We could not have achieved what we did without the cooperation of the other community agencies. On the other hand, our agency supplies at least one service that was not previously available: we are on the spot when the individual has hit bottom, a time when people are most likely to be receptive to help. When a person is before the court or about to be released from the penitentiary, it can be the turning point in his life—if he has someone to talk to, someone to understand his problems, someone to offer a helping hand. We are not claiming to possess any miracle cure, and we are not saying that we have helped everybody who came before us. We do believe that the persons we have helped and the lives our efforts helped re-establish make the project fully worthwhile.

Also justifying our efforts are the lessons this project taught us. First, we must interpret our goals to other agencies in the community. Second, we recommend that there be a community agency offering either institutional or out-patient clinical care for alcoholics. This need is not met

at present and would greatly benefit many of the persons with whom we have had contact. Third, many of our clients have needed immediate temporary financial assistance so they could get their footing in the path to re-establishment in the community. Fourth, they need employment assistance in the form of placement or guidance to help them support themselves and to help them discover what work would most satisfy them.

As we continue the operation of this project, we must increase the services available to the courts, to the individuals who appear before them, and to the persons about to be released from the penitentiary. Such an operation will require skilled workers and much community patience and understanding. Many times the program will be criticized as being another "handout for the bums," but with interpretation, hard work, and belief in the program, its continued success is assured.

On this pioneering project we have received favorable comment from the courts, from other social agencies in the city, and from the community in general. We hope soon to have a city-sponsored "halfway house" where we can refer people for care, a place where they can work toward their rehabilitation.

In brief, we have initiated and operated a screening, counseling, and referral program to give on-the-spot help to persons appearing in the City Court of Buffalo and to inmates of the Erie County Penitentiary. And we feel we have shown that just as our project helped the problem drinkers, similar programs in other communities can help reclaim many more of "the hopeless."

Letters to the Editor

Political Parties and Child Welfare Platforms

August 1, 1960

To THE EDITOR:

Now that both political parties, in the national conventions held last July, have adopted planks calling for expanded federal programs to combat juvenile delinquency, it is timely to review child and youth welfare platforms of the past. A convenient guide for such an examination is *National Party Platforms, 1840-1956* (University of Illinois Press, 1956) by K. H. Porter and D. B. Johnson. It shows that, for the most part, the parties expressed their concern in the welfare of children and youth only in the most general terms; the relevant planks were platitudes that did not mention specific programs to be developed and did not commit the party specifically to a definite program.

In some years—for example, 1928, 1940, and 1952—the party platforms presented no new welfare proposals. Many of the planks were repeated each presidential election year, some of them appearing first under the standard of one party and then later under the standard of the other. Reviewing the platforms for only the last forty years, and looking at only the first mention of a child or youth welfare plank, we see the following:

In 1920, the Democratic Party urged federal cooperation with the states for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care, prohibition of child labor, and adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau in the

Department of Labor. The Prohibition Party advocated adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau.

The first mention of "probation" was in the Democratic Party platform of 1924, which stated, "We favor the extension of the probation principle to the Courts of the United States." The Republican Party that same year supported a cabinet post of Education and Relief.

The Republican Party platform in 1932 viewed "crime" as a special issue; it recommended rigid penal laws. It also had a plank on "welfare and work and children" which approved and pledged a continuation of the party's policy to support and aid the administration's efforts already in practice in this field (but made no mention of specific types of programs to be developed).

In 1936 the Democratic Party platform supported constructive occupation and an open door to opportunity for youth. The Socialist Party advocated the abolition of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, which it felt discriminated against labor, but it advocated the passage of an American Youth Act for Education and Economic Needs of Youth.

In 1944 "juvenile delinquency" was specifically mentioned for the first time in the Prohibition Party platform, which stated, "In the interests of the moral well-being of children, youth and the public, we urge the necessity of higher standards of decency in the enactment and enforcement of laws concerning the radio,

moving pictures, literature and the stage."

In 1948 the Prohibition Party supported "adequate provision" for child welfare.

In 1956 the Democratic Party platform supported "an expanded program of grants" for child welfare and "adequate day care centers, etc."

These weak and ambiguous statements should stimulate professionals in the field to consider their relationship with the parties. If it is true that a political party is more likely to try to keep its campaign promises when its platform is specific rather than vague, then professionals in child welfare should try to influence the platform drafters. At any rate, how to get national political leaders to take more notice of the needs of children and youth is a matter that needs more exploration.

EUGENE P. SCHWARTZ
Executive Director, Metropolitan
Youth Commission of St. Louis
and St. Louis County

Restitution

July 30, 1960

TO THE EDITOR:

As the newly appointed judge of a juvenile court, I have been struggling to find my own answers to the restitution problem. Although I found Joseph Thimm's article in your July issue ["The Juvenile Court and Restitution"] both helpful and stimulating, I could not adopt his "logical approach" as a policy in my own court. I agree that this is a difficult area where concern for the child involved should be the primary interest of the court, rather than an emotional reaction based on pressure from the community so that appropriate focus is lost.

My own ambivalence concerning the restitution problem should perhaps be explained in terms of the legal implications in North Carolina, where there is no parental responsibility statute. In practice, children and their parents are frequently held responsible for damages as a condition of probation. This implies the use of the court's authority over the child for collection of damages to the aggrieved party, which is perhaps a questionable procedure. The public expects this action from the juvenile court, without any understanding that we lack the power to exercise such authority except when restitution is a condition of probation.

Most parents feel a moral responsibility for damages done by their children. They frequently seek guidance from the court in achieving an equitable solution to this aspect of the case, particularly if several youngsters from different families are involved. I agree with Mr. Thimm that restitution may appropriately be handled in the juvenile court setting when it is in the best interest of the child involved.

Mr. Thimm appears to advocate a policy of restitution based primarily on the relationship of the child to his parents and the child's ability to be responsible financially from his own resources. This approach has appeal, particularly in its emphasis on concern for the child involved. Certainly none of us would wish to further damage an already poor relationship between a child and his parents. Yet this problem seems more complex, and I suggest that alternatives be considered.

We should evaluate the relationship of each child to his family and understand the positive and negative factors involved. If the relationship is poor, this does not necessarily mean

that to require restitution would further damage the relationship. The parents may feel that they and the child are responsible for restitution. The restitution aspect might be something concrete that the probation officer could use with the child and his parents to work toward a better relationship. The parent-child relationship is enormously complex, based on innumerable variables of attitude and feeling. It is built up over the years in everyday living. Even if you were sure that restitution would damage the relationship of a child to his family, it might still be best for him to participate in restitution. A plan of restitution may help him learn to accept limits and responsibility for his own behavior, particularly when it affects the property and rights of other persons.

Mr. Thimm suggests that only the child's ability to pay should be considered in evaluating the restitution aspect of a case. How many children have financial resources separate and apart from the family income? A few who are employed might have income, but many are unemployed. Most often the child's income is limited to the allowance provided by his parents. It seems unrealistic to segregate the restitution aspect of a case and decree by policy that the financial resources of his family shall not be considered. Presumably the court staff has conducted a social investigation and prepared a social history on each child who comes into court, including in some cases the income of his family. Should we consider this fact in planning for the child, yet remove it from the mind of the judge in considering restitution?

The restitution question is part of the larger problem of poor public relations of the nation's juvenile

courts. We are frequently understaffed and poorly paid. Both the cause and the effect of this are that we are not well understood. The fact that our subject matter has so much appeal to the conscience of men is further evidence that the general public does not understand our philosophy and our procedure. Suppose we base the restitution policy primarily on the parent-child relationship and the child's financial resources? Can the injured complainant understand and accept this tenuous reason for denying him restitution? The only contact which many citizens ever have with the juvenile court may be in relation to damages done to their property by some youngster. How are they going to feel when they leave the juvenile court? The suggested restitution policy would add chaos to an already misunderstood juvenile court program.

The restitution aspect of each case should be accepted as a part of our total responsibility to each child. We should evaluate all the facts in each case in order to achieve the best plan. Whether we grant restitution will depend on many variables—the relationship of the child to his parents, their feeling about restitution, their economic situation, the complainant's attitude, the extent of the damage, the amount of insurance if any, etc. Perhaps in some cases where damage is extensive and the parents and child do not feel responsible, it would be preferable to refer the injured party to his attorney for civil action. Certainly a plan of restitution should not damage the relationship between the court and the child or his family and thus defeat our primary purposes—to help the particular child be more responsible in his behavior, to strengthen the parent-child relationship, and to help both parent and

child achieve a better understanding of each other.

MASON P. THOMAS, JR.
Judge, Wake County Domestic Relations and Juvenile Court, Raleigh, N.C.

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John Augustus' Predecessors

August 30, 1960

TO THE EDITOR:

Probation is commonly referred to as "a relatively young profession," beginning in 1841 with John Augustus in the Boston courts. I have often wondered whether someone, somewhere, had not made a prior attempt. I recently came upon the record, quoted below, which indicates that Augustus had some forerunners; it shows that two men in New York City were to act in the capacity of probation officers for the court at Albany, N.Y., in 1681, some 160 years before Augustus.

The record, quoted on page 886 of Vol. III of *Documentary History of New York*, by Christopher Morgan (Secretary of State) and E. B. O'Cal laghan, M.D., published by Weed, Parsons in Albany, 1850, is as follows:

Extraordinary Court holden in Albany
29th day July A. Dom. 1681.

Tho: Davidtse promises to conduct himself well & honorably towards his wife

Anneke Schaets; to love & never to neglect her but faithfully and properly to maintain and support her with her children according to his means, hereby making null and void all questions that have occurred and transpired between them both, never to repeat them, but are entirely reconciled; and for better assurance of his real Intention and good resolution to observe the same, he requests that two good men be named to oversee his conduct at N. York towards his said wife, being entirely disposed and inclined to live honourably & well with her as a Christian man ought, subjecting himself willingly to the rule and censure of the said men. On the other hand his wife Anneke Schaets promises also to conduct herself quietly & well and to accompany him to N. York with her children & property here, not to leave him any more but to serve and help him and with him to share the sweets and the sours as becomes a Christian spouse; Requesting that all differences which had ever existed between them both may be hereby quashed and brought no more to light or cast up, as she on her side is heartily disposed to do.

Their Worship, of the court Recommend parties on both sides to observe strictly their Reconciliation now made, and the gentlemen at N. York will be informed that the matter is so far arranged.

I trust the excerpted record will be of interest to the probation profession.

ABRAM F. LIVINGSTON
Director, Department of Probation,
Schenectady County, N.Y.

News & Notes

Roy W. Russell, administrative assistant of the Florida Probation and Parole Commission since 1941, was appointed as a member of the three-man commission on August 2 to fill the vacancy left by the retirement of Joseph Y. Cheney.

Mr. Russell's master's degree thesis at the University of Florida dealt with "Individual Treatment of Delinquency." His career in correction began in 1935, when he became director of records and personnel at Florida State Prison. He was a federal probation officer from 1938 to 1941. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the NCCD Professional Council, of the Advisory Committee of the Kent School of Social Work, and of the American Society of Criminology.

Newspaper editorial comment on his appointment emphasized the professional, nonpolitical nature of the selection process by which Mr. Russell was chosen over fifty-three other applicants. The Pensacola *Journal* said: "If all public appointees were selected as carefully, there would never be any doubt as to their qualifications." The Tallahassee *Democrat* said: "Russell was high man on a list of 10 submitted by a special examining commission which was brought into being for the sole purpose of finding, testing and recommending qualified men for the job.... [This appointment system] has worked so well over the past 19 years with the Parole Commission that we should consider adopting it.... for selecting... other specialized officers."

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The Council on Social Work Education announced the appointment on September 1 of Edmund G. Burbank as educational consultant on correction. Mr. Burbank had been, since 1956, chief probation officer for the Pittsburgh criminal court.

The announcement of the appointment stated that he "will provide consultation to the graduate schools of social work on the matter of the correctional components in a generic program and on the way the total content should be distributed between classroom teaching and field practice. As a major part of his assignment, Mr. Burbank will concentrate on the inter-university relationships in particular with law, sociology and criminology faculties. His field trips will involve cooperation with other agencies and the planning of and participation in institutes.... The development and maintenance of satisfactory field placements as a key to strengthening social work education in the correctional field will be explored as part of the project. The project can make a major contribution to correction by helping to clarify the responsibility of the social work profession to help personnel without full professional qualifications, as well as analyzing in realistic terms what is involved in large-scale planning to prepare them more adequately for their tasks."

Mr. Burbank has an M.S.W. degree from the University of Pennsylvania's School of Social Work, where he taught casework from 1947 to 1951. In 1958 he was the recipient of the Pennsylvania Prison Society Award

"in recognition of his notable contribution to the improvement of correctional service in the State of Pennsylvania."

Arthur H. Sherry, professor of law and criminology, has been appointed acting dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California, Berkeley, filling the vacancy left by the retirement of Austin H. MacCormick on June 30. Professor MacCormick had served as acting dean since March of this year, when Orlando W. Wilson left his post as dean of the school to become superintendent of the Chicago Police Department.

The University also announced the one-year appointment of A. LaMont Smith, executive officer of the State Board of Corrections in Sacramento, as lecturer in the School of Criminology to teach the courses formerly given by Professor MacCormick, including those dealing with correction and juvenile delinquency.

Dr. George Killinger, member and chairman of the U.S. Board of Parole since 1948, has joined the criminology and correction faculty at Florida State University. Dr. Killinger previously served as psychologist at the federal reformatory at Chillicothe, as associate warden in charge of individual treatment at the federal penitentiary at Atlanta, as director of education for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and as chairman of the Clemency and Parole Board of the U.S. Army.

Roberts J. Wright, editor of the *American Journal of Correction* and warden of the Westchester County Penitentiary, Eastview, N. Y., was appointed a member of the New York

State Board of Parole, effective September 1.

John Schapps, NCCD western director, is on a leave of absence to direct a New York City survey which will take the better part of a year. The study and planning assignment covers the auxiliary services to eight courts, with primary emphasis on probation and other programs connected with the Domestic Relations, Magistrates, and Special Sessions courts.

The survey is sponsored by Mayor Wagner through the creation of a committee of judges under the chairmanship of Presiding Justice Bernard Botein, Appellate Division, First Department of the Supreme Court, and a citizens advisory committee of fifteen under the chairmanship of John A. Coleman, former head of the New York Stock Exchange.

Members of the judicial committee in addition to Judge Botein are Justice Henry Ughetta, of the Appellate Division, Second Department; County Judge Peter T. Farrell, of Queens; General Sessions Judge Abraham N. Geller; Chief Justice John M. Murtagh, of Special Sessions; Chief City Magistrate Abraham N. Block; and Chief Justice Florence M. Kelley, of the Court of Domestic Relations.

In addition to Mr. Coleman, the members of the newly appointed citizens' group are Juliet Bartlett, former President of the Women's City Club; Abraham D. Beame, New York City's Budget Director; Dudley Bonsal, former President of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; Eli Whitney DeBevoise, Chairman of Governor Rockefeller's Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency; David Dubinsky, President of the International

Ladies Garment Workers Union; Lester B. Granger, Executive Director of the National Urban League; Edward S. Greenbaum, lawyer member of the State Judicial Conference Departmental Committee on Court Administration; Jane M. Hoey, Vice-Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Professional, Technical and Managerial Manpower; Jacob M. Kaplan, former President of the Welch Grape Juice Company; Charles F. Preusse, former City Administrator; Walter N. Rothschild, Jr., Vice-President of Abraham & Straus; Clarence N. Senior, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and consultant on labor problems to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; Leon Shimkin, Chairman of the Board of Simon & Schuster; and George N. Shuster, former President of Hunter College.

Solomon I. Sklar will serve as counsel to the Committee.

An appropriation of \$120,000 will be available for staffing and operations.

NCCD Staff Additions

Goesta Wollin joined the New York staff for the Citizen Action Program on August 1. Since 1957 Mr. Wollin had been executive director of Big Brothers of America; for four years before that he had been executive director of the Mental Health Association of Union County, N. J., and had taught social group work at City College, New York. He took his undergraduate work at Hermonds College and the University of Lund, Sweden, and has a master's degree from the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University (1953).

Alfred C. Ball joined the staff on August 15 as consultant to the Michigan

Council on Crime and Delinquency. Mr. Ball had been director of psychiatric social services at the State Prison of Southern Michigan for two years; for four years before that he had been a probation officer in the Detroit juvenile court. He received his M.S.W. degree from the Wayne University Graduate School of Social Work in 1952.

Grants

The Ford Foundation has awarded two grants totaling \$196,000 for the study of juvenile delinquency. The American Friends Service Committee received \$45,000 for a three-year neighborhood-centered program for preventing delinquency in New York's East Harlem. The University of Pennsylvania received \$151,000 for the development of more valid delinquency indices than now exist. Using raw data supplied by the Philadelphia Police Department, Drs. Thorsten Selin and Marvin Wolfgang will analyze various aspects of the problem of crime indices.

The Ford Foundation has also awarded Harvard University a \$13,000 grant for a conference on improving career opportunities in the field of criminal justice. The conference is scheduled for 1961.

Detention Administrators' Newsletter

Five or six times a year some three hundred subscribers receive their copies of the *Detention Administrator's Newsletter*. Initiated among regular attendants at the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, this paper became increasingly popular and mushroomed to its current circulation. The readers, themselves,

send in news items, and the contributor's name and address are printed with each item.

If you wish to obtain a sample copy of the *Newsletter*, write to its editor, R. E. Walther, Dallas Juvenile Home, 4638 Harry Hines Boulevard, Dallas, Texas.

Conferences

The sixth annual Southern Conference on Corrections, devoted to correctional problems peculiar to or most pressing in the South, will be held on the campus of the Florida State University at Tallahassee on March 2-3, 1961.

The Third World Congress of Psychiatry will be held June 4-12, 1961, in Montreal, Canada, at the invitation of McGill University and under the auspices of the Canadian Psychiatric Association. The Congress is expected to attract persons from sixty-two nations, a total of some 3,000 delegates representing not only psychiatry, but also such allied fields as general medicine, psychology, biochemistry, nursing, sociology, anthropology, social work, and pharmacology.

You may obtain copies of the Second Announcement, which gives information about program and registration, by writing the General Secretary, Third World Congress of Psychiatry, 1025 Pine Avenue West, Montreal 2, P.Q., Canada.

ALI Model Penal Code

For several years, as the work on the American Law Institute's Model Penal Code has progressed, NCCD has urged various changes in it. The present status of the project and a

summary of the criticism made of it are presented in an article, "Sentencing and Correctional Treatment under the Law Institute's Model Penal Code," by Sol Rubin, NCCD Counsel, in the current *American Bar Association Journal*.

Reprints of the article are available from NCCD; please enclose ten cents and a stamped self-addressed envelope.

Mental Health Book Review Index

The *Mental Health Book Review Index* (Vol. 5, No. 2, July, 1960) lists review references from 132 journals, in English, in the fields of psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and related subjects. References (which include the name of the reviewer, often an important guide) are listed alphabetically by the author of the book reviewed, the basis for inclusion being three or more reviews. Among the Index's sponsors are such organizations as the World Federation for Mental Health and the Research Center for Mental Health at New York University. Annual subscription (two issues) is \$3.

"Developments in Correction"

Plans for Prof. Howard B. Gill's article on "Developments in Correction—July 1, 1959 to June 30, 1960," scheduled for this issue (see NPPA JOURNAL, Oct., 1959, pp. 445-446), have been changed. What was conceived as an article has grown, in gestation, to a pamphlet; delivery, therefore, will not take place until late in December or early in January.

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For a limited time—as long as they last—copies of the *Probation and Parole Directory* (1957) are available at

the NCCD New York office at \$1.50, reduced from \$2.75.

Copies of *Salaries of Probation and Parole Officers and Juvenile Detention Staff in the United States, 1960* (mimeo.) are also available at \$1 per copy.

Erratum: On page 334 of the July, 1960 issue of CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, the price of Robert R. Hannum's "Problems of Getting Jobs for Parolees" was incorrectly given as fifty cents; the correct price is twenty-five cents.

Employment Opportunities

[Employment opportunities not included below because of CRIME AND DELINQUENCY publication deadlines are described in a mimeographed announcement available at request from the Midwestern office of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1536 Vincennes Avenue, Chicago Heights, Illinois.]

San Diego County, California

Correctional Counselor (male), County Honor Camps. Serve on committee evaluating inmates for conditional release; conduct casework investigations; develop work programs for release candidate. Considerable field work at various honor camps. Age: 21-54. B.A., 12 units psychology and/or sociology or 6 appropriate education units. One year casework with adult offenders; or one year graduate study and 6 months experience; or master's degree in psychology, sociology, or social work; or two years social work with adults or families. Salary, \$5,796 to \$7,044. Write to Clayton G. Swanson, Director of Personnel, Department of Civil Service and Personnel, 403 Civic Center, San Diego, California.

Iowa

Superintendent, State Training School (Eldora), caring for about 330 boys, 10 to 21, committed by juvenile courts. Emphasis on treatment and parole; social service and psychiatric teams regularly utilized. Experience: administration and supervision in treatment of institutionalized delinquents. M.A. in social work or related field. Directly responsible to director of correction. Opening around Jan.

1; salary about \$10,000 (depending on qualifications) plus home and maintenance. Write to Benjamin F. Baer, Director of Correctional Institutions, Board of Control of State Institutions, State Office Bldg., Des Moines, Iowa.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Casework Director, Dept. of Court Services, Hennepin County District Court. Immediately responsible to Department Director, act for him in his absence. Recruit and screen all professional positions. Plan and conduct or supervise in-service training; supervise and evaluate casework functions throughout department. Be in line position with administrative responsibility over 3 casework divisions.

Department consists of 5 major service units: domestic relations, adult probation, juvenile probation, juvenile detention facility, county training school for delinquent boys. Staff: about 65 caseworkers; supervisors; medical, psychological, and psychiatric personnel.

Qualifications: bachelor's degree; master's degree in behavioral science, preferably social work; at least 7 years full-time paid social work, including at least 3 years in correctional setting and work in at least 2 of the following: adult probation or parole, juvenile probation or parole, institutional treatment of delinquents, marriage or family counseling. At least 2 years in supervisory or administrative capacity, showing ability to represent agency effectively and to lead planning and administration of social work services.

Salary, \$9,500 to \$11,000. Complete hos-

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pitalization coverage, *gratis*; \$1,000 life insurance; 12 days sick leave, 3-week vacation. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ per mile plus \$20 monthly for personal auto use.

Applications accepted until November 10. Before final decision, qualified applicants must come to Minneapolis at own expense for interviews. For applications and additional information, write Paul Keve, Director of Court Services, 22 Court House, Minneapolis 15, Minn.

Las Vegas, Nevada

Deputy Probation Officers (male), juvenile court. B.A. in a social science, or 2 years college and 2 experience in probation or related field. Starting salary, \$5,400. Write Robert B. Kessler, Chief Deputy Probation Officer, Juvenile Probation and Juvenile Home, 645 Shadow St., Las Vegas, Nev.

Ohio

Administrative Trainee, state juvenile placement or parole program. In minimum period of time, learn to assume full administrative and supervisory responsibility. M.S.W. Starting salary, \$5,520.

Case Supervisor, Cleveland, in placement of and aftercare services for juveniles returning from training schools, other residential units. M.S.W. and minimum of 2 years social work experience. Salary, \$6,300-\$7,560.

Regional Director, Toledo, in placement of and aftercare services for juveniles returning from training schools, other residential units. Direct activities for regional office, supervise field counselors. M.S.W. and minimum of 3 years experience, some supervisory, in juvenile probation, child

welfare, or similar field. Salary, \$6,900-\$8,280.

Apply to Lloyd L. Voigt, Assistant Chief, Placement Services, Juvenile Division, 1207 State Office Building, Columbus 16, Ohio.

Ohio

Positions available in Women's Reformatory and other correctional institutions; expansion of Social Services in State Division of Correction now in process. M.S.W., or bachelor's degree plus 2 years experience in social work, counseling, or guidance. Career and graduate training opportunities available. \$5,040 to \$6,300, depending on training and experience. Write to Joseph G. Cannon, Director, Social Services, State Division of Correction, 1211 State Departments Bldg., Columbus 15, Ohio.

Waynesburg, Pennsylvania

Superintendent (woman preferred) for new 50-bed Girls' Training School. Graduate degree in social work, education, or psychology; extensive administrative experience in care and treatment of delinquent girls. Maintenance advantages; salary, \$7,500 to \$9,400. Write to James Lamb, Superintendent, Youth Development Center, Canonsburg, Pa.

Charleston, South Carolina

Probation Director, juvenile division of county domestic relations court. M.S.W. or bachelor's degree with emphasis on sociology or psychology, and preferably 2 years probation work and one year as administrator or supervisor. Starting salary based on training and experience. Apply to Judge C. B. Pearce, Domestic Relations Court, Charleston, S.C.

Book Reviews

Origins of Crime, William McCord and Joan McCord, with Irving Kenneth Zola. Pp. 219. New York, Columbia University Press, 1959, \$6.

Once more the deep reservoir of data accumulated by the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study has been tapped; once more it yields a good return for delinquency theory and in its implications for treatment practice. This time the McCords—from whom we are coming to expect a high order of scientific scholarship and sophisticated research—plus Irving Kenneth Zola, a Robert Paine Fellow at Harvard University, have done the tapping. Their approach has been frankly statistical, although case illustrations pepper the volume. It is two-pronged, with one phase, a study of causal factors in criminality, logically and empirically flowing out of the first, an attempt to assess once more the effectiveness of the treatment offered by the Cambridge-Somerville project (“probably the most extensive and costly experiment in the prevention of delinquency”). This now classic experiment aimed at deflecting delinquency by providing the opportunity for maladjusted children “to form a friendly, understanding relation with another person” early in life. Ultimately, 253 matched pairs of boys, maladjusted and “normal,” were located for follow-up by the present researchers; one half had rejected project treatment and the other half had been exposed only to the services ordinarily available in the community.

The necessity for inquiring more searchingly into the causes of crime

seemed particularly urgent to the researchers since the treatment assessment phase of this investigation corroborated the previous research of Powers and Witmer in concluding that the project “largely failed to accomplish its goals because it did not affect the basic psychological and familial causes of crime.” However, since the project never really got off the ground in the vast majority of cases in affording the type of intensive treatment contemplated at the outset—what with heavy caseloads, staff turnover, and other difficulties—the present researchers took the trouble to locate twelve such cases. From these they did conclude that, while the size of the sample made generalization difficult, “intimate, long-term, ‘supportive’ counseling can prevent delinquency and adult criminality.” Two sources of data were relied upon: case records on childhood (a means of controlling retrospective bias) and court conviction records (a means of objectively ascertaining criminality). With respect to the latter, this reviewer, on the basis of his experience, finds it hard to accept the contention that court convictions are superior to arrests as a criterion of criminality. Perhaps the researchers have placed too much faith in the presumed objectivity of judicial processes; it is a commonplace to those familiar with courts that simply having a lawyer of one’s own choosing improves one’s chances considerably in the courtroom.

As for the origins of crime, a subject consuming about twice as much

space as the first section on the effects of Cambridge-Somerville treatment, the authors report on "why some of the 253 treated boys became criminal." Here, most of the variables that seem relevant have been examined: intelligence, neighborhood, religion, discipline, home atmosphere, father's and mother's personalities, parental discipline, father's and mother's role models, affection, etc. In addition, some effort has been made to determine causal relationships among these factors more specifically for crimes against property and persons, sex crimes, drunkenness, and traffic violations.

The authors pinpoint the mother's personality as most fundamental in causal potency: maternal passivity, cruelty, absence, and neglect led to high criminality. The father's role model and personality, the home atmosphere, and the son's position in the family also seemed significant. Undoubtedly, the finding that social factors are not strongly related to criminality will cause many an eyebrow to be raised, especially in relation to anomie theory, subcultural patterns, and opportunity pathways. While this reviewer finds it hard to dispute the impact of family experience upon children, he also finds it hard to minimize social pressure, subtle and gross, toward deviance. As he has seen it, so often are these pressures intense beyond the bearing of them that children from "good" homes become delinquent. Among other possible questions, this raises one as to the adequacy of the research method in examining social variables and for that matter, to some extent perhaps, personal and familial variables. To be sure, the case records

available to the researchers are comparatively free of retrospective bias in that they are on-the-spot or, at least, near-the-spot developmental recordings. But this does not alter the fact that the variables later isolated by the present researchers may well constitute "retrospective categories." Hence, all variables may not have been sufficiently covered, if at all, by the original protocols, and it may also have had the effect of coercing judgments on these variables beyond valid limits. Theory testing should preferably be based upon explicit, *a priori* criteria—but this can be no criticism of the McCords and Zola in doing the best they could with what they had.

When one considers that the nature and extent of counseling afforded by the Cambridge-Somerville project was essentially occasional, peripheral, and inconsistent, it becomes difficult to discern any real difference in life experience between the matched experimental and control groups; the independent variable ("treatment") practically vanishes—hence, why expect any substantial differences later on? If to this is added the Cambridge-Somerville staff's deliberate avoidance of undertaking any "structural changes within the community," then how could the project possibly have succeeded even with the best of intention? Nevertheless, the present authors have succeeded in serving up a volume that all those working in the field of crime should have serious intentions of reading; they will be well rewarded.

JACOB CHWAST
Chief Consulting Psychologist, The
Educational Alliance, New York
City

Lost Children of Paris, Gilbert Cesbron; translated from the French by Michael Bullock. Pp. 273. London and New York, Abelard-Schuman, 1959, \$4.

This book is worth a thousand pictures. It is a brilliant, throat-catching portrayal of the problems of abandoned and delinquent children, the "lost children" of anywhere in the world. It conveys warmly the dedication and anguish of those who must make the proper decision regarding these children—the magistrate, the youth worker, the treatment center staff. "When a child has stolen a bicycle," asks M. Lamy, the juvenile court judge (who could be the prototype of many equally devoted American judges), "which is most important to society, the fate of the bicycle or the fate of the child?"

With equally keen insight, Cesbron penetrates the minds of his child characters. One of them had learned, for instance, that "cheeriness in adults is a trap." Surely, one thinks, Cesbron must have been a social worker or active in a related field, but no, he is merely an eloquent novelist who cares about deprived children (this is his third novel on them).

Why could not some American novelist have written this book years ago to help educate an often cynical, callous, indifferent, or helpless public? Realistic, yet full of optimism, it is far worthier of its troubling subject than the sensational treatment of the subject in America in various one-eyed novels (the other eye being cocked at Hollywood).

Perhaps the book's (and correction's) philosophy is best distilled in M. Lamy's impromptu lecture to a detached deputy prosecutor:

Always judge the child by what he is, not by what he has done. He is not a little man, Doublet, but a child of man. Among all us grown-ups he is like a stranger, someone has said, a stranger who is persecuted. He is full of *goodwill*, but not of *willpower*. Therefore, Doublet, have the patience to sort out each case on its own. Always give the impression of following the child's train of thought; respect his assumptions. He so much needs to grow up—and one can't grow up without breaking things. So you mustn't say to yourself, 'This one *deserves* to get out of the mess he's in.' They all have the right to get out of it; and it's your duty to help them, one by one, all of them. They do evil, but they dream of good, remember that! And when you are tired of their ingratitude, their instability, when you are tempted to be harsh, close your eyes for a moment. Doublet. Think of yourself, of me, of all of us. Humbly regain a sense of human frailty."

ARMINÉ DIKIJIAN
Librarian, NCCD

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My Unwelcome Guests, Frederick S. Baldi, M.D. Pp. 222. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1959, \$3.95.

Dr. Baldi recounts here his forty years as medical director and superintendent of Holmesburg and Moyamensing prisons in Philadelphia, and as warden of the Rockview State Penitentiary in Pennsylvania. His colorfully related experiences will appeal to the nonprofessional lay reader, but their candor is studied and their self-approval less than subtle. And there's the rub. Interwoven among the cases are the author's views on penology, views often superficial, often outdated; correctional workers will shudder to contemplate the way Dr. Baldi's outlook may influence the interested citizen reader.

Comparing prisons with schools, for example, Dr. Baldi concludes: "Just as we must have more classrooms and more teachers, and have them now, in order to combat juvenile delinquency most effectively, so we must have an expansion of prison facilities and personnel to cope with today's alarming rise in crime rates. Parole has been tried as the only available alternative to prison overcrowding; it has proved to be nothing but a polite term for letting some wrongdoers go unpunished."

A little later: "The man who enters prison, in the final analysis, rehabilitates himself, if the thing is done at all. Rehabilitation does take place, although the percentage of cases is pitifully small. I would guess the figure, in any of the prisons I directed, was never more than one or two out of a given hundred men." This distressingly low figure certainly does not obtain in other institutions, nor did this reviewer find Dr. Baldi's ensuing argument persuasive.

In the chapter on forensic psychiatry, Dr. Baldi alternates between grudging recognition and near ridicule of the profession. "They Start Young," a chapter on juvenile delinquency, consists largely of such sentiments as the plea for replacing "the present mollycoddling methods."

These and other of the doctor's opinions are bound to infuriate most of the correctional profession and the juvenile judiciary. They may see, about to slip from their grasp, the hand of the citizen reader whom they have been patiently and laboriously leading down the road toward understanding.

ARMINÉ DIKIJIAN

Librarian, NCCD

Out of the Burning, Ira Henry Freeman. Pp. 256. New York, Crown, 1960, \$3.95.

"And ye were as a firebrand plucked out of the burning" (Amos 4:11) is the theme of Ira Freeman's skillfully written account of a juvenile gang leader. The firebrand is a Negro boy named Frenchy; the scene of the burning is the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn; the plucking took Frenchy to Warwick, the New York State Training School for Boys, where, under the wise guidance of Al Cohen and his staff, the boy developed from a bright, ingenious hoodlum into a bright, ingenious, respectable, self-respecting young man.

His I.Q. was 160, but Frenchy lived in a neighborhood where the gang code was dominant, and this was the ruling influence of his young existence. The strokes by which Mr. Freeman supplies the tone and flavor of the environment are swift and sure:

After her wash was hung out, Mama, armed with yellow soap, spray bottles and blue poison powder, waged her daily battle against the bugs. It was a losing war. The bedbugs, fleas, roaches, silverfish and thousand-legs poured in through the rotten walls. . . .

When the bugs overwhelmed us, Papa would leave a sulphur candle burning in a saucer in the closed flat, while we all sheltered overnight at Grandpa Robertson's. Next morning, we would rush in with our hands over our mouths to throw open the windows. Then we would have to retreat until the smoke cleared. The sweep-up would fill half a coal scuttle with dead bugs.

Inside, the bugs; outside, the violence. One evening a plain-clothes man visited the family to inform them that Frenchy's older brother was being detained in Youth House:

He had assaulted a teacher in the classroom. When they arrested Nelson they found a loaded pistol in his pocket. . . .

I felt no disgrace over having a brother in jail. That was nothing. I knew plenty of families who had a member locked up. Like any other kid in Bedford-Stuyvesant, I took it for granted that cops, judges, courts, probation officers, and social workers were our natural enemies.

The school system is inadvertently omitted from this list of opponents. Frenchy's school didn't help him much:

Already, at seven years old, I saw that you could not count on fairness and justice. [One of Frenchy's "good" brothers was dying of spinal tuberculosis.] The way I figured, life was mostly luck, like playing the horses or cards or the numbers. . . .

My teacher . . . didn't like me from the start because she had had trouble with Nelson years before.

It annoyed her also that I was smart. What right had a bad Negro boy to be smart? Bad boys should be stupid and lazy; smart boys are good. . . .

[The teacher] slammed me into my seat. Naturally, I hit her back. . . .

As I sobbed in bed that night, Mama came in to soothe me. "You can be a good boy if you try."

I tried—for a while. But school was unbearably dull. *Jack and Jane lived in a big house at the end of a village street. There was a garden that went down the hill behind the house. There were squirrels and birds in the garden, and the trees had nests in them.*

I had raced through that stupid reader in one burst long ago. What did Jack's house and garden and village street mean to me anyway?

Frenchy couldn't take the boredom; his record of trouble started in his very first term, a few weeks before his sixth birthday.

Miss Smith understood my problem. She told Mama she wished to skip me a grade

ahead. But our assistant principal vetoed the idea. He said I was already the youngest pupil in the class, and that skipping would maladjust me and be undemocratic.

Not long after this, Frenchy was a member of the junior auxiliary of the Bishops, the gang that ruled his turf. After a particularly notable rumble in which he was suspected, rightly, of being involved, he was questioned at school by the principal and two "plain-clothes bulls."

To all questions, I shook my head, or shrugged or muttered, "I dunno." Fortunately, it is not hard to convince a white man that you are stupid.

On another occasion when Frenchy was being questioned, the dean walked out of his office so that "Musclehead, . . . the toughest youth bull in the Headbeaters' precinct," could have the privacy he needed to beat some answers out of the boy.

By the time Frenchy was fourteen years old, he had appeared thirteen times in the Children's Court. His twelve previous appearances had taught him that "there are two kinds of judges: bleeding hearts and swords of the Lord."

Bleeding hearts called me son and wept over me; swords of the Lord shouted I ought to be locked up in a zoo. But I thought there was no real difference between the two. If there was room for you in the slammers, either kind sent you up.

Usually there was no room.

But this time, his thirteenth appearance, there was room, and Frenchy, after having achieved gang leadership, was committed to Warwick with his parents' approval. (Incidentally, his parents were intelligent, respectable, hard-working people, not the inade-

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quate failures parents of delinquents are generally assumed to be.)

His bus ride to the state training school was his first trip out of the city:

I stared out the window as we rolled over wooded hills and cow pastures, through little white towns, past blue lakes.

I had never been out in real country before. *Look at all the goddam trees! What the hell is there to do in these boondocks?* Even in Warwick, biggest town since the George Washington Bridge, I hadn't seen one proper candy store, poolroom or pete bar. . . .

The campus appeared—neat red-brick buildings enclosing a large mall, then athletic fields, a sparkling lake, and, in the distance, the blue humps of the Ramapos and Catskills. Not a scrap of paper on the grass. The whole place looked disgustingly clean, empty, lonely and dull. . . .

If Gibbons' gorillas [his gang enemies] snagged me on these broad lawns, I was a stiff. There was not a street corner to dodge around, an alley or cellar to duck into, not a flat roof to run over.

His first furlough back home, granted after six months, did not show that he had been thoroughly transformed, but it was the beginning of the end of trouble for Frenchy.

I noticed, for the first time in my life, that the air stank, that the streets were dirty, noisy and crowded. I had been living in the country so long, I had forgotten how city life was. I was so glad to be back, I inhaled the stink deeply into my lungs. Pretty soon I got used to it again.

But he no longer had the old taste for violence. Without realizing it, he was changing. When he returned to Warwick, after his ten-day furlough, fighting seemed far less attractive than before.

My cottage was in a constant uproar. . . . Some challenged me, too, but I shrugged

it off. "Go pug with somebody else, bub; I'm busy."

Maybe I was growing up at last.

He was. At sixteen, he was able to figure out, by virtue of his intelligence and the good work of the training school, that "bopping is kid stuff."

Frenchy says, at the end, that we need many more state training schools like Warwick. Yes; and we need many more books about boys like him by writers as skillful, as compassionate, as truthful as Ira Freeman.

M. M.

The Thief in the White Collar,
Norman Jaspan with Hillel Black, Pp. 254. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1960, \$4.95.

We are a nation of embezzlers, says Norman Jaspan, a prominent management consultant, in *The Thief in the White Collar*. He has the statistics to prove it:

According to insurance company figures, white collar employees, rank and file, supervisory and executive, are stealing about four million dollars in cash and property from their employers each working day. By the end of 1960, such thefts will reach the astronomical figure of more than one billion dollars per year. Compared to the white collar crook, the professional criminal is an amateur. The F.B.I. reports that the nation's burglars, pickpockets, armed robbers and auto thieves managed to steal 479 million dollars in 1957. This is considerably less than half the amount stolen by the country's white collar embezzlers.

And he has the stories—most of them from his own files—that explain "the nature of white collar crime and why employees turn to theft." Aside from the moral erosion, the economic inroads are devastating. In one instance, the culprit was a secretary in the sales department of a large metal-

working firm; her motive: revenge. (Mr. Jaspan's book is an eye-opener in making it clear that illegal profit is only one of a great many motives of white collar crime.) Suffering from the delusion that her company had no confidence in her, she waited for an opportunity to destroy the firm and when it came—in the form of a huge contract—she concealed the receipt of the order so thoroughly that not only did the company itself suffer great damage in prestige and lost sales but the company placing the contract—an airplane manufacturer—had to lay off seven hundred workers because of the absence of the ordered material.

In another instance (one with the classic profit motive) the financial shenanigans of the "late but not lamented Serge Rubinstein, the last of the truly great financial swindlers," shook the economic foundation of Imperial Japan; as a result of his maneuvering of Japanese mining companies in 1937, the nation's currency dropped in value and didn't recover for two years.

Mr. Jaspan estimates that two hundred firms will go into bankruptcy in 1960 as the direct result of internal thefts. "If the American businessman doesn't awake to the problem, he will discover the white collar thief has not only picked his pocket but stolen his pants."

Why do employees steal? Some offer rationalizations: "I'm only borrowing it." "They owe it to me." "Everybody else is doing it." "My friend asked me to do him a favor." "The world is against me." For others the motivation may be dire need, altruism, fear, the urge toward social status, "executive neurosis," attempt to cover up poor business judgment, gambling,

extravagant living, or any other shade of the "complete spectrum of human failing or tragedy."

The clinical accounts are not presented for laughs, yet many of them are not devoid of humor. One chap took over his father's security business when the elder was visiting in Europe. He decided to do some investing on his own and helped himself to about \$150,000 that belonged to his father's clients. He speculated; he lost; to recoup the loss, he took another \$25,000 that didn't belong to him and lost it at the race track. He went back again to other people's money and this time, instead of betting on a horse, he bought one. In the only race the horse entered before his owner's speculations were discovered, he came in ninth. The horse's name was Support.

On the whole, however, the stories evoke pity rather than laughter.

In addition to motivations, the book describes the methods used by employees to steal. Some are as simple as ABC; others are so ingenious and complex that it often takes expert accountants and management consultants several weeks to figure them out.

Because the book is so enlightening one can forgive the frequent crudities of style and the many lapses in proofreading. A more serious defect is the confusion about the nature of the social basis of endemic embezzlement. The authors imply that they cannot explain the volume of white collar crime since the typical white collar criminal "has been exposed to all the ethical values that western civilization holds dear." But they do not venture further into an inquiry of just what those values are and they do not have anything to say about the fact that as

a nation we spend three times as much on gambling as we do on elementary and high school education beyond the comment that the comparative figures are "a sad commentary on our mores and values."

But, on the whole, it's a good book, a sort of lab manual accompanying Sutherland's and Cressey's theoretical work on embezzlement.

M. M.

and Monterey, two New York State work camps, and Elmira (N. Y.) Reception Center, and weighs the relative merits of the work camp and other correctional facilities. He also discusses some implications of an expanded New York State work camp program. An extensive bibliography lists selected books, pamphlets, and articles on work camps.

Standards for Services to Unmarried Parents, *Child Welfare League of America, Inc.*, New York, 1960. Pp. 74. \$1.50.

This booklet was undertaken to define underlying assumptions, objectives, and desirable practice in this welfare service. The chapter titles are "Services to Unmarried Parents as a Social Welfare Service," "Reaching the Unmarried Mother," "Social Work with the Unmarried Parent," "Medical and Hospital Services," "Living Arrangements for the Unmarried Mother," "The Maternity Home," "Organization and Administration of Services to Unmarried Parents," and "Community Planning and Organization for Services to Unmarried Parents."

Insanity and the Criminal Law, *Dorothy Campbell Tompkins*, University of California Bureau of Public Administration, Berkeley, 1960. Pp. 64. \$2.

This publication is a bibliography of materials on insanity and the criminal law which have been published since 1930. The common theme is dissatisfaction with state laws relating to the responsibility of the criminal insane and the various resultant attempts to develop a new and workable standard of irresponsibility.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Recommendations—Composite Report of Forum Findings, 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1960. Pp. 85.

Herein is the composite of the forum recommendations of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth in such areas as education, employment, human rights, migrants, welfare services, ideals, values, religion, health services, recreation, the family, handicapped children, juvenile delinquency, community planning, coordination, youth participation, Children's Bureau, and Conference follow-up.

Work Camps for Young Offenders, *Lee J. Cary*, Syracuse University Youth Development Center, Syracuse, N. Y., 1960. Pp. 40.

The author outlines the organization and administration of Pharsalia

Factors Influencing the Institutionalization of Mentally Retarded Individuals in New York City, *Gerhart Saenger*, New York State Inter-departmental Health Resources Board, Albany, 1960. Pp. 163.

This booklet contains the results of a two-year study, by the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service, "designed to cast further light on the many-faceted social-medical problem of retardation, with particular emphasis on clarifying the factors related to institutionalization and the complex interaction between these factors." The most influential factors include degree of mental retardation, family income and ethnic background,

family inadequacy, and the community-adjustment of the retardate.

**Handbook on Parole Functions—
for Police Officers in Pennsylvania,** *Parole Committee of the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association and the Pennsylvania Board of Parole*, Harrisburg, 1960. Pp. 14.

This handbook aims to increase cooperation between the police and parole agencies for their mutual benefit. It gives the patrolman information on how to handle arrested parolees for the purpose of their rehabilitation and tells him how he can use the parole agency as a source of assistance in his work.

BRETT GINNINGS

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